

This comparative study examines a medieval love story, *Floire and Blancheflor*, and shows how medieval writers from Spain, France, Italy, England and Scandinavia reworked this story from the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries to develop and emphasize social, political, religious and artistic goals, while maintaining its entertaining qualities. It shows the importance of a little-known medieval Spanish version to the development of the story throughout Europe, and especially as a precursor to Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo*, and it examines important issues in the development of prose fiction in medieval and Renaissance Europe. This study is unique for its breadth of coverage of one story and for its inclusion of Spain as a significant participant in the development of medieval narrative.

Floire and Blancheflor and the European Romance

CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE 32

General Editor: Professor Alastair Minnis, Professor of Medieval Literature,
University of York

Editorial Board

- Professor Patrick Boyde, FBA (Serena Professor of Italian, Cambridge)
Professor John Burrow, FBA (Winterstoke Professor of English, Bristol)
Professor Rita Copeland (Professor of English, University of Minnesota)
Professor Alan Deyermond, FBA (Professor of Hispanic Studies, London)
Professor Peter Dronke, FBA (Professor of Medieval Latin Literature, Cambridge)
Dr Simon Gaunt (University of Cambridge)
Professor Nigel Palmer (Professor of German Medieval and Linguistic Studies,
Oxford)
Professor Winthrop Wetherbee (Professor of English, Cornell)

This series of critical books seeks to cover the whole area of literature written in the major medieval languages – the main European vernaculars, and medieval Latin and Greek – during the period c. 1100–1500. Its chief aim is to publish and stimulate fresh scholarship and criticism on medieval literature, special emphasis being placed on understanding major works of poetry, prose, and drama in relation to the contemporary culture and learning which fostered them.

Recent titles in the series

- 21 *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context*, edited by Erik Kooper
22 *Dante and the Mystical Tradition: Bernard of Clairvaux in the
“Commedia,”* by Steven Botterill
23 *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530*, edited by Peter Biller and Anne Hudson
24 *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the “Aeneid” from the Twelfth
Century to Chaucer*, by Christopher Baswell
25 *Sciences and the Self in Medieval Poetry: Alan of Lille’s “Anticlaudianus”
and John Gower’s “Confessio Amantis,”* by James Simpson
26 *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and
France*, by Joyce Coleman
27 *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical text*, by Suzanne
Reynolds
28 *Editing “Piers Plowman”: The Evolution of the Text*, by Charlotte Brewer
29 *Vernacular Literary Theory in the Middle Ages: The German Tradition,
800–1300, in its European Context*, by Walter Haug
30 *Texts and the Self in the Twelfth Century*, by Sarah Spence
31 *Lies, Slander and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature: Pastoral Rhetoric and
the Deviant Speaker*, by Edwin Craun
32 *“Floire and Blancheflor” and the European Romance*, by Patricia E. Grieve

A complete list of titles in the series can be found at the back of the book

Floire and Blancheflor
and the European Romance

PATRICIA E. GRIEVE

*Associate Professor of Spanish Literature and Chair,
Columbia University*



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521431620

© Cambridge University Press 1997

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1997
This digitally printed first paperback version 2006

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Grieve, Patricia E.

Floire and Blancheflor and the European romance / Patricia E. Grieve.

p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in medieval literature; 32)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 43162 X (hardback)

1. Floire et Blancheflor (Romance) 2. Romances – History and criticism.

I. Title. II. Series.

PN690.F56G75 1997

809.1'02 – dc20 96–19750 CIP

ISBN-13 978-0-521-43162-0 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-43162-X hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-02767-0 paperback

ISBN-10 0-521-02767-5 paperback

For my parents

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page</i>	xi
<i>Introduction</i>		1
Part One	<i>Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus</i>	13
1	Texts and origins	15
	The French manuscripts	17
	Critical opinions: early versions and origins	18
	<i>Flores y Blancaflor</i> in Spain: the prose romance	
	and the Chronicle	20
	<i>Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor</i> : the story	23
	<i>Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor</i> : vernacular	
	prose historiography	27
	<i>Floire and Blancheflor</i> in Scandinavia	36
	Lexical dilemmas	39
	Conclusion	50
Part Two	The road to conversion	52
2	Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?	53
	The selling of Blancheflor	57
	Blancheflor in the tower	65
	The judgment of the lovers	72
3	Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale	86
	Imagery of narrative: pilgrimage, garden and	
	conversion	89
	Imagery of narrative: representations of	
	cunning and ingenuity	111
	The changing role of the narrator	118

Contents

	Narrative discourse in <i>Il Filocolo</i> : Readers, writers and storytellers	123
	Conclusion	131
4	Routes of conversion: time and space	134
	Moral geography and spiritual redemption	134
	From pagan court to Christian kingdom: <i>Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor</i> and <i>Il Filocolo</i>	138
5	Generic crossroads	159
	The European versions of <i>Floire and Blancheflor</i>	161
	Weaving the narrative: memory, myth and history	167
	Weaving the narrative: multiple discourses in <i>Il Filocolo</i>	171
Epilogue	Poetics of continuation	182
	The strangest treason: genealogy and textual lineage	182
	“Stuffed with Ymagere”: <i>Emaré</i>	190
	Keats’s <i>The Eve of St. Agnes</i>	191
	The legend of Flores and Blancaflor in Judeo-Spanish ballads	193
	<i>Flores y Blancaflor</i> and courtship folktales in twentieth-century Spain	198
Appendices	A. <i>Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor</i> : the reign of King Fines and King Flores	202
	B. Table of important characters and place- names in major European versions of <i>Floire and Blancheflor</i>	204
	<i>Bibliography</i>	210
	<i>Index</i>	231

Preface

This study began as a seminar assignment in a graduate class, a comparison of the sixteenth-century Spanish prose romance *Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor* with the two French poems traditionally presumed to be closest to a lost French original, and from which the Spanish version was purportedly translated.

Bibliographical research for the class assignment went almost too swiftly, for no one had written anything on the Spanish text except for Bonilla y San Martín in the general introduction to his edition. This is, of course, not a new situation in Hispanic literary studies. A.D. Deyermond's oft-cited article on "The Lost Genre of Medieval Spanish Literature" called attention to Hispanists' frequent disregard for "translations" in general and the romance in particular. Dieter Mehl pleaded the case for Middle English romances that suffered similar scorn from the pens of those who compared them unfavorably with the French "originals": "It is worth asking, however, whether the English romances are no more than mere translations and whether, in addressing a completely different audience, the English authors did not create a new literary type that should be judged by other standards than the French 'originals'" (2).

At first, my intention was to write an article rescuing the Spanish prose romance from near-oblivion, but Butler Library's interlibrary loan provided me with José Gómez Pérez's article, "Leyendas medievales españolas del ciclo carolingio," from an obscure and now defunct Venezuelan journal. The article contained a transcription of a lengthy interpolation of the romance of *Flores y Blancaflor* in a fourteenth-century reworking of an Alfonsine chronicle – *Estoria de España*, the history of Spain written in the court of Alfonso el Sabio in the thirteenth century. José Gómez Pérez came across the fourteenth-century manuscript during his tenure as a bibliographer and researcher at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, but none of the extensive literary criticism about *Floire and Blancheflor* includes knowledge of this chronicle-version. Gómez Pérez did nothing to introduce it into the mainstream of *Floire and Blancheflor* criticism; indeed, as late as 1979 Roberto Giacone, understandably unaware of the existence of the Spanish Chronicle,

Preface

failed to include it in his schema of the European versions of the tale ("*Floris and Blaunceflur*: Critical Issues"); Marvin J. Ward's 1983 "*Floire et Blancheflor*: A Bibliography" contains under Spain, in the manuscript category, "none extant" (47).¹ The rediscovery of the Spanish manuscript was crucial to my own study, for the chronicle-version is more than just another witness to the popularity of this medieval love story: it is the fullest example extant of what Karl Christ and Roberto Giacone postulated in 1916 and 1979, respectively, to be the earliest known version of the legend, and it opens the door to vexed questions of the relationship between the European versions, in particular between the Castilian and Scandinavian ones, and between Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo* and the Spanish Chronicle itself. In its own right, it is a fascinating version of the legend that helps us to understand the composition of medieval narrative in general. The Spanish prose romance, once the focus of my research, receded into the background in light of the rediscovery of the chronicle manuscript through Gómez Pérez's transcription.

I am grateful to Columbia University for a year's leave and to the Council on Research in the Humanities for summer grants in 1986 and 1988, to the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores de España for a travel grant in 1986 which allowed me to transcribe the text of the chronicle-version of *Flores y Blancaflor* in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, and to the National Endowment for the Humanities for a grant in 1987.

I thank the following libraries and curators for their help in securing the sometimes hard-to-find manuscripts and printed editions of *Floire and Blancheflor*: the Butler Library; the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid; the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, especially Manuel Sánchez Mariana, Julián Martín Abad and Paloma Fernández; Jaime Moll of the Real Academia Española; the Sorbonne; the British Library, especially Dennis Rhodes and Geoffrey West; the Hispanic Society of America; and the library of Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London.

Among the scores of people here and abroad who have helped me in so many ways throughout the various stages of this project, I am very grateful to Michel Garcia, Samuel Armistead, Joan Ferrante, Félix Martínez-Bonati, Teodolinda Barolini, Kathy Eden, Victoria Kirkham, Dwayne Carpenter, Ivy Corfis, Kenneth Baxter Wolf, Robert Hollander, Harvey Sharrer, Clive Griffin, Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Marie Collins, Deborah Compton and Theodore Faunce, and the audience of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar at Westfield College, now Queen Mary and Westfield. Robin Bower went above and beyond the call of duty by reading the entire manuscript. I would like to thank the editors at Cambridge University Press, Katharina Brett, Kevin Taylor, Rosemary Morris and Ann Rex – and

¹ José Fradejas Lebrero refers briefly to the existence of the chronicle-version in a study of fourteenth-century romances, and supports the idea of a Hispanic origin for the tale, but unfortunately does not give identifying details ("*Algunas notas*" 313–14).

Preface

especially the reader of my typescript, A. J. Minnis, for their support of this project, and their generous advice and judicious counsel, the importance of which readers of *Floire and Blancheflor* know only too well. Very special thanks, as ever, go to Alan Deyermond, whose class first introduced me to *Floire and Blancheflor*, and whose wisdom and kindness have guided me ever since. Anticipating possible negative criticism from his readers, Boccaccio referred them to the “true” author of *Il Filocolo*, the priest Ilario. Alas, I have no Ilario, so the shortcomings of this work remain my own.

I thank, also, my research assistants, Molly Bernstein, Robin Bower, Christine Duvernet, Myrna Ortiz, Angela Weisl, Elizabeth Chamberlain and Andrea Parra, for all their help and for their gracious willingness to track down “just one more” obscure note or reference on *Floire and Blancheflor*. I am grateful to Emily Francomano for her heroic effort on the index. I thank, finally, my husband, Jeffrey Hildner, for his advice and support, and for listening to “just one more” version of *Floire and Blancheflor*, and Emily Madison Hildner, who makes it all worthwhile.

Introduction

THE LEGEND OF FLOIRE AND BLANCHEFLOR

Upon the death of her husband, a countess and her father set out on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in order to give thanks for the unborn child that the countess is carrying (in the *Filocolo*, the French popular version and the Spanish prose romance it is the father and mother who go on pilgrimage). A pagan King, Felix, and his soldiers kill the grandfather and take the mother, Berthe, prisoner. The pregnant Saracen Queen befriends the Christian captive, and the two women give birth on the same day, Palm Sunday (Pentecost in some versions), the Queen to a boy, Floire, Berthe to a girl, Blancheflor. The children fall in love, and they use their study time to write love poems in Latin and to daydream about each other. The King is dismayed, in some versions because he considers Blancheflor socially inferior to his son, in others because her Christianity poses a threat to his kingdom. The parents devise schemes to separate the children: they accuse Blancheflor of trying to poison the King, and then they sell her to slave merchants, who take her to Cairo, where she quickly becomes the favorite in the Emir's harem. The King and Queen order the creation of an elaborately decorated tomb so that Floire will believe that she has died. When the Queen realizes that her son may die of melancholy and despair, she admits that Blancheflor still lives, and Floire vows not to return to his father's kingdom until he has found Blancheflor. Floire finally reaches Cairo, and discovers that Blancheflor is one of the many maidens kept in a tower by the Emir. There is a magic tree in the garden within the tower, the maidens walk beneath the tree each day, and the Emir takes to bed each night the maiden upon whom a flower has fallen that day. The next day the Emir has the maiden beheaded and the process continues. Floire challenges the tower's porter to a game of chess. In order to bolster

Introduction

the porter's confidence, Floire lets him win the first time, then roundly defeats him in subsequent games. The porter has agreed to help Floire enter the tower if he wins the chess game, so the porter carries Floire into the tower in a basket of flowers, or, in some versions, the basket is hoisted up outside the tower. Floire is discovered in the basket by Blancheflor's friend Claris or Gloris, which leads to much merriment in the harem and joking about knowing this flower well. While Floire and Blancheflor enjoy each other in bed, Claris tries to deflect the Emir's attention from Blancheflor's absence by telling him that Blancheflor is tired because she had been up late reading the night before. However, the Emir soon tires of the excuses and goes to Blancheflor's quarters, where he discovers the lovers in bed. He calls his advisors together, and after a lengthy trial, the lovers are vindicated, and they head for Spain. In most versions, Floire converts to Christianity, which removes the obstacle to their marriage, and the lovers live happily ever after.

In 1661 Roman authorities added to the Index of Forbidden Books the *vita* of one Rosana, who was captured by pagans, and her daughter, also named Rosana, whose militant steadfastness to Christianity and chastity – while living in a lustful Sultan's harem – earned her a heavenly crown. The earliest hagiographical text of her life is a play, one of the fifteenth-century Florentine *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, lavish and brilliant spectacles sponsored by wealthy and fashionable brotherhoods that captivated the public imagination for weeks at a time.¹

The art form itself, that is the *Sacra Rappresentazione*, appears not to have survived the sixteenth century, but the same cannot be said for the religious heroes and heroines celebrated by these elaborate productions.² Devoted followers of these saintly figures so provoked the Roman Catholic Church that some of the saints were expunged

¹ According to d'Ancona (*Sacre Rappresentazioni* and *Origini del teatro*), who edited forty-three dramatic religious works, these extremely popular plays stem from the last thirty years of the fifteenth century, derived from a combination of civic pageants and Umbrian *Divozione* and were performed in the oratories of the local confraternities or in the refectories of convents.

² The popularity of the *Sacre Rappresentazioni* waned in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but a different kind of religious theater appeared: the *commedie sacre*. As Elissa Weaver tells us, these works were more sophisticated than the *sacra rappresentazione* and were designed specifically for monastic and lay organizations of piety (*Amor di virtù* 181). One of them, *Amor di virtù* or *Virtù di Amore*, by Beatrice del Sera, a Florentine nun, borrows the love story of Florio and Biancifiore from Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, changes the lovers' names to Florido Febo and Aurabeatrice, and interprets the story as "an allegory in

Introduction

from the calendar of feastdays. However, the seventeenth-century injunction against the worship of Saint Rosana results from rather unusual circumstances. Hippolyte Delehaye's classification of hagiographic documents proffers one small, curious category: saints whose only provenance is literary texts. The case of Saint Rosana demonstrates the dangers of reading, for her *vita* tells not only about a completely apocryphal saint, but about one who is recast from a medieval romance, the story of the lovers Floire and Blancheflor.³

The example of Saint Rosana demonstrates one aspect of its profane source, the importance of which underlies this entire study: the hagiographic potential inherent in the tale, exhibited primarily through motifs and episodes of pilgrimage and conversion. While we will see that various versions develop hagiography within the story, and that the story itself gives rise to other literary works of religious overtone, such as Keats's *The Eve of St. Agnes*, Saint Rosana most strongly attests to the power of the hagiographic potential in the legend of Floire and Blancheflor. As the example of Saint Rosana demonstrates, that potential influenced not only other literary texts, but real life, with a force so great that the intervention of Rome was necessary to dismantle the cult of a saint whose origin was a purely fictional tale.

The popularity of the legend of the lovers Floire and Blancheflor has endured: one may still find modernizations and retellings of the story, and it appears to be well entrenched in contemporary Spanish folklore as a narrative model for courtship patterns.⁴ Versions of the story abound in Europe, clearly attesting to its power to engage audiences from several centuries and many countries. While the

which the lover's quest for his beloved is said to signify the soul's search for God" (*Amor di virtù* 186).

³ Delehaye cites *Floire et Blancheflor* as an example of a literary figure who gave rise to an imaginary saint, along with the better-known example of the *chanson de geste* of Amis and Amile (87). Reusch (*Der Index* II: 227), Symonds (*Giovanni Boccaccio* I: 354), T.R. Jackson ("Religion and Love" 24) and d'Ancona (*Origini* I: 437, II: 60 and *Sacre Rappresentazioni* III: 362) all mention the affiliation of Saint Rosana with Floire and Blancheflor. D'Ancona published an edition of the tale, *La Legenda della Reina Rosana e di Rosana sua Figliuola*. See also the 1909 English translation of the legend by Mildred Mary Blance Mansfield, *The Tale of Queen Rosana and of Rosana her Daughter and of the King's Son Aulimento*.

⁴ Jean Marchand (*La Légende de Flore et Blanchefleur*) and Suzanne Hannedouche (*Floire et Blancheflor*) have produced modern French editions of the legend. And in Spain, for example, "the production of cheap printed versions of medieval courtly romances is not a specially recent development. *Flores y Blancaflor* was issued throughout the nineteenth century in editions aimed at the widest Spanish public" (Deyermond, "Courtly and Popular Elements" 35). I discuss in the epilogue the relationship of the medieval love story to modern courtship patterns in the region of Cáceres, as examined by the anthropologist James Taggart.

Introduction

names of the lovers may not be as recognizable to a modern public as those of Tristan and Isolde, for example, *Floire and Blancheflor*, by virtue of its continuing appeal throughout the centuries, must rank as one of the most important of medieval romances. Moreover, unlike *Tristan and Isolde*, which (in spite of the presence of distinctive features in France, Germany and Italy) remains a somewhat static romance of an adulterous couple, *Floire and Blancheflor* exhibits generic diversification.⁵

The present study has two main parts, and an epilogue. Part One ("*Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus*") discusses the origins of the story and the manuscript transmission of *Floire and Blancheflor*, much of which dates from the nineteenth and early twentieth century. With the rediscovery of the fourteenth-century Spanish chronicle-version of *Flores y Blancaflor*, many of our assumptions and conclusions about the provenance of the European versions must be revised. This section describes the relevance of the Chronicle to the other European versions, especially Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo*, and proves that *Flores y Blancaflor* in Spain represents the only extant witness to support Gaston Paris's hypothesis that there must have been a "third strain" of *Floire and Blancheflor*.

Paris was convinced that the two French tales, the aristocratic and the popular, represented only part of the history of the story's origins. Some features found in the anonymous Italian *Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, the sixteenth-century Spanish *Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor*, and references in Spanish literature that do not correspond faithfully either to the French popular or aristocratic poems suggested to Paris that there must have been a version known in early Spain that differed from the above-mentioned French ones, hence an Italo-Spanish

⁵ As with any kind of broad categorization, there is a risk of overgeneralization in claiming for *Floire and Blancheflor* a generic diversification that does not mark the Tristan legend. For example, in Spain, *Tristán de Leonís* (1501) incorporates some specific material and the tone of the Spanish sentimental romance, a subgenre of romance that was indigenous to Spain (see Waley, "Love and Honour" and Grieve, *Desire and Death*), so *Tristan* was certainly not immune to change. But my point becomes clear, I think, when we consider the character of the image projected by the lovers. Tristan and Isolde were always portrayed as models of secular love, while this is not the case with Floire and Blancheflor. As we will see in the Epilogue, "Poetics of Continuation," the lovers are models of secular love and, at times, pious models of Christian love; beyond that, we need think only of the tonal difference between the lovers in the French aristocratic version and the Old Norse, for example, to realize that the main story remains the same but the context and circumstances of the lovers' story do not.

Introduction

version or “third strain.”⁶ The proof of Paris’s hypothesis is housed in Madrid’s Biblioteca Nacional in the form of an almost-perfectly preserved manuscript, a late-fourteenth or early-fifteenth-century reworking of an Alfonsine chronicle, which I call *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* in order to distinguish the love story from the Spanish prose romance, *Flores y Blancaflor*.

Part One, then, is a traditional, historical approach to the study of the legend. It makes its contribution to the ongoing process of classifying the web of manuscripts that tell the lovers’ tale and, more importantly, it sets the scene for the subsequent chapters. Throughout the study, the findings – and the continuing questions – presented in the first part in the chapter on “Texts and Origins” are recalled, as we compare the works and suggest areas of common sources in an effort to determine provenance, to note subtle differences and surprising concurrences that help to distinguish the links in the European chain of texts.

Part Two, consisting of four chapters, is entitled “The Road to Conversion.” In his quest to rescue Blancheflor, Floire can be said to embark on a love-pilgrimage in all the versions of *Floire and Blancheflor*. Added to the episodes of love-pilgrimage are an emphasis on the more traditional view of pilgrimage as a religious journey, and on episodes of religious conversion found in, especially, the Spanish Chronicle, Boccaccio’s *Filocolo* and the Old Norse *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*. And if, to borrow Freccero’s comment on Augustine’s *Confessions*, “conversion is always a literary event, a gloss on an anterior text” (“The Fig Tree and the Laurel” 36), then the versions of *Floire and Blancheflor* represent such a literary event, for the love story concerns itself with multifarious aspects of conversion, both thematic and textual, in its individual literary experimentalism and as part of a European chain of texts. In my analyses of the versions of *Floire and Blancheflor*, I consider pilgrimage and conversion both as themes in certain texts – as part of the plot – and as tropes. In the story’s pilgrimage throughout Europe and in its movement from secular love story to combined love story and religious tale, the

⁶ Paris noticed references in Spanish literature such as Juan Ruiz’s praise of the lovers in his mid-fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor*, “ca nunca fue tan leal Blancaflor a Flores, / nin es agora Tristán con todos sus amores” (st. 1703) (“for never was Blanchefleur so true to Fleur, nor is Tristan these days with all his loving” [trans. Willis 472]), but it was, in particular, the short description of the story of Flores and Blancaflor in the early fourteenth-century *Gran conquista de Ultramar* that caused him to postulate the third strain of *Floire and Blancheflor*.

Introduction

versions change and adapt earlier material in a way that makes the texts seem to be converts themselves, formerly concerned only with amatory matters and the personal gratification of two lovers and now concerned with how those lovers and their story fit into a Christian providential scheme.

Those who caused the conversion of some of the texts – that is, the translators and refashioners of the legend of Floire and Blancheflor – are also readers: readers of at least one version of the romance from which they then sculpted their own, new, modified or faithful version of the text. In the act of reading across the centuries, the contemporary critic/reader can attempt one of the following procedures: to reconstruct the medieval readership or to isolate the features, keys or clues that indicate how a text wants to be read. When we, as critics, insist on analyzing a work by selecting the features that we have declared to pertain to a particular genre, are we not perhaps neglecting important features that held meaning for the author and historical audience?

In his study on medieval literature and genre theory, Hans Robert Jauss advocates the recognition of a generic dominant in works (such as romance or hagiography) rather than the determination of rigid rules that cling to the outmoded notion of pure genres as standards or models of excellence:

If in place of the naturalistic concept of genre [...] one poses the historical concept of a continuity, “in which every earlier element extends and completes itself through the later one” [...] then the relationship between individual text and the series of texts formative of a genre presents itself as a process of the continual founding and altering of horizons. The new text evokes for the reader (listener) the horizon of expectations and “rules of the game” familiar to him from earlier texts, which as such can then be varied, corrected, but also transformed, crossed out, or simply reproduced. (88)

One of the goals of this study, then, is to determine the reception of the tale by the medieval audience and to suggest, as far as possible, an author’s reading of an earlier version by discovering what changes were employed in subsequent versions. *Floire and Blancheflor*, in all its versions, is a tale that lends itself to transformation – to telling and retelling, to refashioning, to generic flexibility.

Another goal is to discover why the chronicle-version of the love story remains such a captivating story (which cannot necessarily be said for all the other versions). What enables this text to engage the

Introduction

modern reader? What does this text contain that so successfully mediates between the past and the “horizon of expectations” of a twentieth-century reader?

Floire and Blancheflor is the ideal medieval tale, from my point of view, in that it opens up many avenues of exploration. It must have been an ideal tale to the medieval writer, who, as literary critics are becoming increasingly aware, was not as paralyzed and transfixed as the contemporary critic by boundaries of genre. In its own European *peregrinatio*, the story emphasized, depending on the translator or refashioner, the country and the time period, exactly what the situation called for: romance, chronicle, hagiography, epic. *Floire and Blancheflor* functions as a kaleidoscope of medieval narrative: one easily sees the main currents of medieval forms in the varying versions, but, as in a kaleidoscope, they achieve prominence in different ways.

The legend of Floire and Blancheflor provides us, I believe, with a unique opportunity to determine, both synchronically and diachronically, the horizon of expectations inherent in this work's generic dominant, the romance, by comparing the European versions from the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries against each other and against the canon of romances for those periods. The simple fact of the multiple reworkings of the tale tells us something about how these texts were read. We are already well aware of the concept of medieval originality, that contest between poet, language and pre-existing literary traditions. The differences between the Old French and Middle English versions of *Floire and Blancheflor* may attest to a poetic bid for superiority by the later poet(s), or to social, moral, ethical or historical intentions. Rather than limit the discussion to features, or elements, that belong to a particular genre (as twentieth-century critics have codified it), such as romance or hagiography, I have isolated topics that seem to me important because they may be prominent in one text and then modified, or even eliminated, in another country's version: the story constantly undergoes recontextualization.

One example is Boccaccio's transformation of the episode of the poisoned fowl, allegedly prepared for the King by Blancheflor, into a political transformation of the chivalric “vows of the peacock.” In so doing, Boccaccio not only expands the episode, as found in other versions, for his own narrative development of *Floire and Blancheflor*, but he recontextualizes a traditional romance banquet into a contemporary political allegory.

Introduction

Another example is the Spanish chronicler's treatment of the encounter between the Christian prisoner (pregnant with Blancaflor) and the pagan Queen (pregnant with Flores). The historical context of the Spanish text finds one aspect of its uniqueness in the simple fact that battling with the Moors could not be portrayed as anything but a confrontation with the present: hence the historical immediacy and realistic detail of the chronicle-version, unparalleled in any other version. When Blancaflor's mother meets the Moorish Queen, the narrator includes the detail that Berta and the Queen instinctively understood each other even though their languages differed: "E auien grandt sabor vna de otra. La condessa Berta fablaua françes e la rreyna algarauia e vna a otra se mostrauan su lenguaje" (f.7ra). ("And they took to each other immediately. Countess Berta spoke French and the Queen Arabic, and they taught each other their language.")

This small but logical point of the different languages – insignificant in the larger scheme of the story and non-existent in the other versions – would probably be overlooked by critics who would have no reason to include it in a study on genre, yet it indicates the Spanish chronicler's awareness of what the public would question immediately: the linguistic barrier was clearly a familiar problem and not one to be glossed over without narratorial comment. It tells us something, too, about the chronicler's view of his role and his text: such details attest to the quest for veracity, for historicity, for realistic truth instead of a simple moral truth through an exemplary story.

Along the same lines, but in a more subtle way, the refashioners of *Floire and Blancheflor* make distinctions even while employing the same details; we must be aware of tonal changes, of emphasis – indeed, of differing interpretations of the same word. Instead of seeing endless repetition in our many versions of the tale, we need to be attuned to the distinguishing features that become obvious only after careful reading of the texts, and often only after the texts are read in a comparative manner. Certainly this approach is not unique to a study of *Floire and Blancheflor*; for example, Leclercq's findings on Gregory the Great's recognition and development of patterns of pilgrimage, that resulted in a vocabulary of religious experience for later writers, could apply just as efficaciously to the approach I suggest for *Floire and Blancheflor*: "According to Leclercq, the more we read medieval texts, the more sensitively we can chart the shifting nuances of medieval Latin styles from century to century, from one cultural center to another, even though the language remains highly

Introduction

traditional – even, in some cases, formulaic” (Gardiner 7–8). The present study is, in many ways, a charting of the shifting nuances of the tale of *Floire and Blancheflor*, nuances that rejuvenate the story as it passes from country to country and century to century.

The first chapter of Part Two, entitled “Cunning and Ingenuity or Divine Intervention?” and composed of sections arranged according to the chronology of the story, discusses the issues that engender distinctions in the works: major episodes and images whose treatment of *engin* and *conseil* and God’s role in human experience varies in the different European versions. As a standard of measure we can use the concept of *engin*, its presence in the texts and how it affects and interacts with the presence of a Supreme Being. The chapter explores especially the handling of the material in the Spanish chronicle, Boccaccio’s *Il Filocolo*, the French aristocratic and popular versions, the Middle English version and the Spanish prose romance from the sixteenth century. References to the Middle Dutch, Old Norse-Icelandic, Greek, Italian and Middle High German texts are included, either to indicate the popularity or commonplace quality of some of the material in the episodes, or to show a unique contribution by one of the author/translators, but these are not the main focus of the study.

Chapter Three, “Signs, Wonders and the Telling of the Tale,” explores the narrative strategies at play in the texts that reveal an awareness and treatment of the acts of reading, writing, narrating and storytelling, on the part of both the author and the characters. Some of the narrative strategies that help to define the texture of the works include inscribed texts – references within the work to other texts – and what I term implied texts, that is, those texts, oral tales and narrative images with iconographic dimensions that are not necessarily overtly evoked: some of the images in *Floire and Blancheflor* resemble images in literature and the visual arts which were popular enough to have occurred to readers and listeners of the tale. For this section I owe much to Rosamund Tuve’s pioneering study, *Allegorical Imagery*, and the exemplary work of V. A. Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative*.

An implied text, for example, would be the use of the sea as the preferred means of travel in all the versions of *Floire and Blancheflor*. Apart from the sea voyage and the shipwreck as conventions of medieval literature, *Floire and Blancheflor* adds another dimension: inscribed as the Mediterranean versions are within the larger context of pilgrimage literature, the reader or listener would not fail to make

Introduction

the metaphorical equation between Saint James the Apostle – Santiago de Compostela – set adrift in a boat and Floire's own sea journeys that represent both a pilgrimage and a road to conversion. Boccaccio complicates and enriches the sea motif by mingling both Christian and pagan iconography: Venus, who is responsible for much of the activity in the work, is linked with the sea; yet, at one point in the story, Filocolo beholds a vision of maidens on the sea that is clearly meant to evoke the extremely popular iconographic image of the Ship of the Church.

Another example – the Emir's garden – is one of the most richly orchestrated images, infused as it is with both pagan and Christian elements. While this is one of the more widely discussed images of the tale, with its multivalent significance, it is important for this chapter because it conjures up for the reader or listener a variety of implied texts. This section demonstrates that literary and iconographic subtexts pervade all the versions, albeit in different ways and to different degrees.

Chapter Four, entitled "Routes of Conversion: Time and Space," has two parts. The first, "Moral Geography and Spiritual Redemption," examines how geography exhibits a moral dimension and parallels the road to spiritual redemption. Within this section, I examine the question of journey, the use of the garden within the larger time-frame of the Lenten season, and the concept of genealogy, both within the story and as a means of textual lineage. The second part concentrates on the closing scenes of *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* and *Il Filocolo* in order to demonstrate the provenance of the *Filocolo* from the Chronicle, and to offer interpretations of both texts that are possible only when they stem from comparative analysis. *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* is indeed a chronicle. Although it retains much of the flavor and details of the love story, it is nonetheless a strongly moralizing text, a history of how Christianity came to southern Spain with the help of Saint Augustine and sundry miracles.

Il Filocolo, on the other hand, retains the basic storyline of the lovers and their conversion, but the sheer quantity of additional material and the way the author treats it make it a totally different kind of work. Ostensibly a moralizing tale of Christian history, it is actually a work that posits the power of writing and the power of a good story over less organized means of communication, and the instability and chance happenings that this power can generate.

Introduction

The conclusion, “Generic Crossroads,” summarizes the narrative impulses that turn the varying versions towards different genres that represent different concerns and motivations. In this section, as in the other parts of the book, I am most interested in the development of the various topics as it affects the Spanish Chronicle, *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, and Boccaccio’s *Filocolo*. While the study is not limited to these two works, it becomes clear as the chapters progress that these two versions of the tale of Floire and Blancheflor offer the most intricate and complex problems to address, not the least of which is their relationship to each other.

The epilogue examines the notion of continuation in various forms: sequels, the example of which is the incorporation of the legend of *Flores y Blancaflor* into the Charlemagne cycle in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the gradual erosion of this relationship between legend and cycle so that it is completely forgotten by the time of the printing of the sixteenth-century texts which gave rise to French and English translations well into the nineteenth century; and, through a sampling of works from the Middle Ages to Romanticism, it demonstrates the widespread influence of the tale of Floire and Blancheflor, as model lovers and as narrative model.

This study, then, has several goals. *Floire and Blancheflor* is the story of multiple pilgrimages – of religious devotion, of love – and of conversion. The texts themselves, in their winding route through Europe, are pilgrims of sorts, and they certainly undergo conversion, albeit forced by their reworkers and translators. Once faced with conversion, however, the texts show themselves to be willing – and able – converts to their conquerors’ will by virtue of the protean nature of the texts’ components. While examining the historical overview of *Floire and Blancheflor* criticism and introducing new criteria for consideration, exploring thematic concerns from the European versions, and discussing how the same story can engage the horizon of expectations of varying genres, this study seeks at the same time to suggest how each version was received by its public; that is to say, what changes were made from text to text and what the public would have noticed about the story that may not be what we notice when we concentrate solely on genre.

More often than not, the romance of Floire and Blancheflor was Christianized, engendering a somewhat secular hagiography. As mentioned before – and the recent work of Jauss, Minnis, Brewer, Fewster and Davidoff, to name just a few, exemplifies our increasing aware-

Introduction

ness of this – medieval authors quite obviously experimented with the fluid nature of categories of writing, and successfully so, for their intention was not necessarily to join a generic classification, but to forge varying mixtures of textual styles in order to elucidate a poetic, historical or spiritual truth.

Floire and Blancheflor is unique in many ways, one of which is the fusion of a love story with the concepts of *communitas* and the individual Christian soul. It is a story, which in its French and Middle English versions celebrates pure poetic creation, while in the Mediterranean versions we see transformations in the service of a Christian truth. It is a story which, in most versions, reveals God's grandeur and the power of Christianity. But along the way, and not incidentally, the authors, translators and redactors created compelling stories of delightful entertainment, tales to be told and retold with great pleasure from country to country and throughout the centuries.

A word about procedure: in referring to the characters in general, I use the Library of Congress subject classification "Floire and Blancheflor." When referring to the legend as a world story, I use *Floire and Blancheflor*. The names of the characters from the different versions appear as they do in each story. An appendix (B) at the end of the study lists the European versions and the characters' names. Quotations from the versions of *Floire and Blancheflor* are from modern editions listed in the bibliography, except for the Chronicle, which is my own transcription of the only extant manuscript, BN Madrid ms 7583. Abbreviations have been silently expanded; punctuation and capitalizations have been added as necessary. English translations of the aristocratic French version are from Hubert, and the translation of the *Filocolo* is by Donald Cheney with the collaboration of Thomas Bergin. Unless otherwise noted, all other translations are mine.

PART I

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

Texts and Origins

The story of the pagan and Christian childhood sweethearts fired the imagination of many authors, translators and redactors, as well as that of the audience, and the physical artifacts of that imagination are no less powerful: since the middle of the nineteenth century, literary historians have endeavored to unravel the tangled skein of manuscripts and printed editions of *Floire and Blancheflor* in order to ascertain origin and routes of transmission. While definitive statements about origin are difficult, the present study sheds further light on the development and evolution of the legend of *Floire and Blancheflor* in Europe in the Middle Ages, and enables us to move closer to answering the question of origin and transmission of the legend in Europe.

The nineteenth-century positivist critics, such as Gaston Paris and Edélestand Du Méril, believed that the thirteenth and fourteenth-century French manuscripts of the legend that Du Méril christened the aristocratic and popular versions (or I and II) contained the oldest surviving versions of *Floire and Blancheflor* in Europe. Most of their criticism centered on three manuscripts of the aristocratic version. Even though critics now believe that another French manuscript, often called the Palatine fragment (c. 1200–25), discovered by Karl Christ in 1916 in the Biblioteca Vaticana, is older than any other version (with the exception of the Low Rhenish Trier-fragments), this manuscript did not receive the attention it deserved.¹ As Giacone

¹ Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Palatinus Latinus 1971. folios 85ra - 90vb. Fragment. 1156 lines. c. 1200–25; Trier. Stadtbibliothek. Mittelhochdeutsche Fragmente. Mappe C. 13. 4 folios. 368 lines. End of the 12th c. Also contains fragments of *Agidius* and *Silvester*. The Low-Rhenish Trier-fragments previously were assigned a date of 1170 by the editor Steinmayer, but more recent work concludes that the manuscript containing these fragments dates from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, while the story itself is from the end of the twelfth century; see Giacone for a summary of critical positions on the dating of the various versions. The Trier-fragments leave off where Pal. lat. 1971 begins, thereby thwarting useful comparisons of plot details.

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

remarked in 1979: "The discovery was not a bomb-shell. . . . It could have upset the outcome of decades of diligent speculation. For various reasons this did not happen" (401).

The origin of the story of *Floire and Blancheflor* was hotly debated in the nineteenth century, with some critics believing in its creation by a talented French poet, and others arguing for Persian, Byzantine or otherwise undefined Oriental origins. The critics who believe it to be a French story rely, not surprisingly, on the fact that the earliest surviving manuscripts in Europe are French. Those who believe in the Byzantine origin often use as a basis of comparison *Floire and Blancheflor's* similarities to *Aucassin et Nicolette*, a French romance probably of Byzantine origin. Gaston Paris believed that some of the later texts, such as the sixteenth-century Spanish prose romance, Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo* (c. 1338) and the fourteenth-century anonymous and incomplete Italian *Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, shared similarities that differed to such a degree from the French versions that they must have derived from a totally different strain of the legend. Moreover, he believed that many of these unusual features indicated their reliance on even more primitive versions of the legend than is found in the French manuscripts; he postulated the hypothesis of the lost "third strain" of *Floire and Blancheflor* that probably was an Italo-Spanish version.

The picture of influences, sources and manuscript transmission changes dramatically when we include an almost entirely unknown fourteenth-century Spanish chronicle-version, which I call *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*.² Because of this new information, even the evidence of the legend in Scandinavia needs to be reconsidered. The Spanish Chronicle represents the "third strain" hypothesized by Gaston Paris, which has resonance for Boccaccio's *Filocolo* and for our assumptions about the sources of the northern versions of the tale, including the Dutch and Old Norse.

The present study will begin with a short description of the status of the study of the legend in France, since almost all the criticism of the legend employs the aristocratic French version as its point of departure for both comparative literary studies and textual ones. This endeavor will rely heavily on the information compiled by the earlier

² Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 7583 (*olim* T-233). 1400–1500. Alfonso X. *Estoria de España; Primera crónica general*. 207ff., 2 cols., 250 x 170 mm., first section is the *Crónica fragmentaria*. Castilian. I describe the contents and dating of the manuscript later in this chapter.

Texts and Origins

critics, especially Du Ménil, Paris, Reinhold, Herzog, McKnight and Giacone and, most recently, Marvin J. Ward. I will continue with a description and plot summary of the Spanish chronicle-version, *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*; the historicity of the chronicle-version is important for the dating of the story of the lovers themselves, the time of the composition of the story and the date of the manuscript, all of which reflect different time periods. Next, I discuss the legend and its importance in Scandinavia because I believe that there are connections between the Old Norse-Icelandic version and the Spanish Chronicle. The third part of the chapter will be an analysis of a variety of issues raised by the integration of the Palatine fragment and *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* into the fabric of *Floire and Blancheflor* criticism, and I attempt to answer some of the vexed questions raised by various critics of the legend.

THE FRENCH MANUSCRIPTS

Critical editions of the manuscripts that contain the French aristocratic version, also known as Version I, considered to be the oldest complete European version of *Floire and Blancheflor*, disagree as to which should be the base manuscript, A (Paris, BN 375) or B (Paris, BN 1447). Manuscript C (Paris, BN Supplément fr. 12562), is a copy of A, so editors normally refer to A/C.³ A fourth manuscript, often called D in literary studies, refers to the one surviving manuscript of the popular version (Paris, BN 19152).⁴ Most editors have selected A because it is slightly longer than the others and because the manuscript itself is slightly older (1288) than B (1300–50). B and A/C seem to be the same version – the so-called “aristocratic” one, but with some very different readings. Margaret Pelan is the only modern editor to base her edition (1937 and 1956, with some changes) on MS B because, she explains, when lines appear in A that are lacking in B, they refer to some ornamental detail; however, when B contains a line that is missing in A, it is one of substance that contributes to the thematic coherence of a passage and is thus essential to the story. Moreover, she views with suspicion the notion that MS A could contain a story that is earlier and superior to that of B, for MS A is

³ Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. fonds français 375. (*olim* 6987). folios 247v–254r. 3342 lines. 1288; Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. fonds français 1447. folios 1r–20v. 3039 lines. 1300–50; Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. fonds français 12562. folios 69r–89v. 3342 lines. 1375–1425.

⁴ Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. fonds français 19152. folios 193r–205v. 3470 lines. Incomplete. 13th c.

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

clearly from Picardy, and for various reasons critics feel it must be a copy of another version of the tale, because they doubt that the original poet was from Picardy.

Interestingly, MS B is bound with two other stories, *Berte aus grans pies* and *Claris and Laris*. Even though many versions relate the characters Floire and Blancheflor to Berte and Charlemagne, this is the only case I know besides the Chronicle in which the story of Floire and Blancheflor is in the same manuscript collection as *Berte*.

The manuscript that contains the fragment of the Old French poem, Pal. lat. 1971, has not yet been the subject of a critical edition. Margaret Pelan included the fragment as an appendix to her critical edition of MS B; Wilhelmine Wirtz also included it as an appendix in her critical edition of MS A; Jean-Luc Leclanche does not provide an edition of Pal. lat. 1971 in his critical edition of MS A, but he does include in his list of variants those that are found in that fragment. Yet the linguistic evidence of the Palatine fragment is clearly important, as we shall see below.

CRITICAL OPINIONS: EARLY VERSIONS AND ORIGINS

Herzog's 1884 study of *Floire and Blancheflor* in Europe distinguished two general – and distinct – versions of the legend, that he called A and B, but that became more commonly known as aristocratic and popular, or I and II, following Du Ménil's lead in their classification.⁵ According to Du Ménil, however, I and II were not independent tales, as Herzog believed, but poems that derived from a lost common ancestor. Herzog argued that the French aristocratic was the first version known in Europe, and that it gave rise to the versions found in Germany, England, Scandinavia, and possibly Italy, while his category B first circulated in Italy, Spain and Greece, and served as a basis for the French popular version. He believed, however, that because Blancheflor's parents in the Italian, Greek and sixteenth-century Spanish romances are Italian, this version first took root in Italy and then gave rise to the French popular, that is to say that the French popular version was a fusion of the aristocratic and early versions known in Italy and Spain and represented by the *Filocolo*, *Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore* and the Spanish prose

⁵ Herzog's classification of the aristocratic and popular versions as A and B is not to be confused with later critics' classification of the French manuscripts as A and B (aristocratic) and D (popular).

Texts and Origins

romance. Reinhold denied that there was an Italo-Spanish group, arguing that II derived from I and another lost French poem. Gaston Paris, whose opinion differed from that of all the other critics, believed that the French popular version represented a separate French strain that differed from the Italo-Spanish group (a "Roman" version), arguing, therefore, for three strains, not two.

Within the category of the aristocratic version, two strains have been distinguished: MS A/C and MS B are also known as alpha and beta. When the positivist critics attempted to sort out the relationships of the various manuscripts, they normally started with the proper names in the texts as a way of distinguishing an alpha strain from a beta strain. Hence, in the alpha strain, Floire's father is called Felis or Felix; in beta, Phenix, Fenix, Fenus. Blancheflor's companion is Gloris (Eloris in the Old Norse) in alpha, while the beta strain contains variants of Claris. Giacone concludes:

Consequently, the *Trier-fragments* and the *Old Norse Saga* belonged with MS A and C to strain α , while β included, besides B, the Middle High German, the Middle Dutch and the Middle English romances. In 1912, Ernst completed the scheme of connections between the versions until 1340 with the observation that the Scandinavian versions cannot be satisfactorily classified. (400)

The Palatine fragment cannot be classified as either alpha or beta because it varies from time to time, now following A/C, now following B. It is likely that the Palatine fragment represents an older version than either MS A/C or MS B, the alpha and beta strains. It is on this point that Pal. lat. 1971 has affinities with the Spanish Chronicle, for *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, as we shall see, also shows signs of containing traces of both the alpha strain and the beta strain, and it will be my contention that the Spanish text represents a more primitive version than does the aristocratic French. Moreover, Ernst's conclusion that the Scandinavian versions do not fit so tidily in with the prevailing opinion that they must be translations of the aristocratic version, even though he could not find any concrete proof of this (i.e. another manuscript), is helpful to my argument, for I believe that there are some connections between the Spanish Chronicle and *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*.

Critics from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries offered a variety of opinions about the origin of *Floire and Blancheflor*. Du Méril supposed an original Byzantine tale, while Herzog thought it to

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

have come from Greece, and Pizzi, from Persia. Basset, Huet and Ten Brink all believed that the poem had Arabic origins. Reinhold noted parallels between *Floire and Blancheflor* and episodes in other French and classical works, concluding that the story was probably composed in France. Hugo Brunner compared *Floire et Blancheflor* to *Aucassin et Nicolette*, arguing for a Hispano-Arabic origin, an opinion Gaston Paris and Adolfo Bonilla shared. If there is any majority opinion, it is probably that the story is of Byzantine origin. The study of the Spanish MS, *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, may not definitively solve the problem of origin, but it opens many avenues of further exploration of the legend, and certainly does not refute the possibility of Hispano-Arabic origin.

FLORES Y BLANCAFLOR IN SPAIN: THE PROSE ROMANCE AND THE CHRONICLE

Whenever nineteenth-century positivist critics, or for that matter more recent critics, refer to the legend of Floire and Blancheflor in Spain, they all, except for Fradejas, discuss a sixteenth-century prose romance, *Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor*. The only modern edition of this romance is the one published by Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín in 1916. Bonilla used an undated printed edition of the prose romance, which he believed to be from the 1530s. My own research concludes that Bonilla's text (which he borrowed from its Spanish owner, the Duque de T'Serclaes, and which is now lost) was printed by the Cromberger brothers of Seville.⁶ I have compared

⁶ The present Duque de T'Serclaes resides in Madrid, but there is no library, or at least none that the public can see. The collection that belonged to the twin brother of the T'Serclaes who owned *Flores y Blancaflor*, the Marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros, was sold privately in 1902 to Archer Huntington, the founder of the Hispanic Society of America, but I can find no mention of a specific T'Serclaes collection in any sale catalogue, and the sixteenth-century *Flores y Blancaflor* is not present in the Hispanic Society holdings, so T'Serclaes did not follow his brother's lead in dealing with Huntington. Clive Griffin's study of the Crombergers of Seville lists two examples of *Flores y Blancaflor*, one in the Sorbonne and one in the British Library, but mentions neither the lost T'Serclaes nor Bonilla's edition of it (240).

There has been some understandable confusion about the text that Bonilla used for his 1916 edition. Sharrer ("Eighteenth-Century Chapbooks" 61) refers to Bonilla's work as an edition of *Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor* (Alcalá de Henares: Arnao Guillém de Brocar, 1512). In fact Bonilla says in his notes, albeit in a somewhat roundabout way, that he has not used a 1512 edition. Instead, his description of the 1512 edition comes from Brunet, who is, as I will show, the only scholar who actually claims (or implies) that he has seen a text from that date. Buried in Bonilla's descriptions of known printed texts is the following, referring to an undated edition: "Ejemplar, en perfecto estado de conservación, propiedad de mi doctísimo amigo el Excmo. Sr. Duque de T'Serclaes de Tilly, que ha tenido la amabilidad de franqueármelo para la presente edición" (205-06).

Texts and Origins

Bonilla's emended edition, including the woodcut of the title-page, which he reproduces, with another undated Cromberger text, the Grenville copy now in the British Library, and one other known Cromberger housed in the Sorbonne, which is included in a group of texts dated 1532 and 1533, and concluded that they all represent the same version of the story, but that Bonilla's source text is somewhat earlier than the other two extant printed editions because the few textual emendations he makes (and documents) have already been corrected by the printer of the other two examples.

One piece of the puzzle of Spanish printed texts is still missing: the 1512 Alcalá edition. Among the standard bibliographies or works that describe manuscripts and printed texts, only J.-Ch. Brunet's *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres* suggests first-hand knowledge of this edition, but the description he provides is ambiguous. Neither Salvá nor Gallardo claims to have seen it; both cite Brunet's description; Gayangos lists the 1512, but does not give a location, leading us to suspect that he had not seen it either. Norton was unable to trace it, and he lists it in his *Printing in Spain: 1501-1520* as a lost text, and one of only two forays into the field of romance that were undertaken by the publishing Cromberger brothers. So the question remains: would the 1512 edition have resembled the Chronicle or the c. 1530 prose romance?

If the subtitle Brunet gives for the 1512 is correct, and Flores and Blancaflor are represented as "Emperors of Rome" (which is not the case in the Chronicle), then the lost 1512 probably is not like the Chronicle, but is instead an earlier version of the other sixteenth-century printed editions of the love story. Our only means of practical comparison is to accept the assertion by Brunet that the 1604 edition of Alcalá de Henares (there is one copy in the Sorbonne) is a reprint of the 1512 edition. A comparison of the 1604 with the Cromberger editions (c. 1530s) proves that the 1604 is indeed the same version, containing the story of the Roman Christian parents of Blancaflor and the pagan prince Flores who inherits, through his marriage to Blancaflor, the throne of the Holy Roman Empire.

Brunet claims that Jacques Vincent's 1554 French version of the story is a translation of the 1512 edition. Hausknecht, for his part, not having been able to locate a 1512 edition, compares Vincent's translation to the 1604 Spanish version and proves that the French is in fact a faithful translation of the text represented by 1604. That being so, our best hypothesis is that the 1512 version was unlike the Chronicle, but

rather of the same family as the Spanish versions from the 1530s, 1562 and 1604, and was most likely of Italian derivation but this cannot be proven definitively.

Critics suspected that there must have been a Spanish version of the love story earlier than the sixteenth century, but no one could prove it until the late 1950s, when José Gómez Pérez discovered a manuscript in Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional, while he was a bibliographer there, working with Menéndez Pidal's team of researchers. Their project was the gathering of Alfonsine chronicles in order to reconstruct the archetype of the King's encyclopedic *Estoria de España*, also known as *Primera crónica general* (=PCG). This particular manuscript was deemed unnecessary to the project, and only Gómez Pérez appears to have recognized its importance, not for PCG per se, but for another complex tradition, the European versions of *Floire and Blancheflor*: for the manuscript contained, interpolated within chapters of PCG (the part about the Moorish Kings of southern Spain), a complete version of the legend of the two lovers.⁷ The story of Flores and Blancaflor totals approximately fifty folios, interpolated at various points between Chapters 564 and 783 of a late-fourteenth or early-fifteenth-century manuscript of Alfonso el Sabio's PCG, which was composed during the monarch's reign in the latter half of the thirteenth century.⁸ After *Flores y Blancaflor* is the tale of *Berta*, wife of Pepin and mother of Charlemagne, who appears here as the daughter of Flores and Blancaflor. It takes place during the reign of Flores and Blancaflor as King and Queen of Spain, and Berta's adventures are interspersed with episodes of her father's political dealings in Spain, particularly with the Asturian King Fruela. Berta's story is then followed by one of the young Charlemagne, *Mainete*,

⁷ Menéndez Pidal gave the name *Primera crónica general* to a family of manuscripts that he viewed as a prototype of subsequent chronicles. For a discussion of the multiplicity of manuscripts and the problems that critics encounter in reconstructing Alfonso el Sabio's chronicle, see Pattison's Introduction in *From Legend to Chronicle*. Diego Catalán provides a very thorough account of the manuscripts connected with PCG or *Estoria de España* in *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos*.

⁸ According to literary historians, Alfonso el Sabio directed the compilation up to Chapter 616 of the history. Gómez Pérez's article describes in greater detail the exact points of interpolation within the larger chronicle, and his second article on the subject, "Leyendas carolingias en España," is even more precise, pointing to changes as small as a slightly different spelling of one name in an otherwise exact copy. However, it seems to me to be unnecessary to recount those details here. When relevant, I cite the historical changes that make *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* different from the actual history of the Moorish Kings of southern Spain as we know it from the *Primera crónica general*.

Texts and Origins

which does appear in the thirteenth-century *PCG*, although there are some changes.

Although Gómez Pérez clearly realized that this was an important discovery, his transcription of the love story (sometimes inadvertently skipping up to five lines of manuscript at a time) was published in an obscure journal, referring to the manuscript as X; even if scholars of other European literatures had come across a reference to the article, they would not have suspected that it contained a transcription of a full version of *Floire and Blancheflor*, for it is entitled “Leyendas medievales españolas del ciclo carolingio.”⁹ Meanwhile, at the Biblioteca Nacional, the manuscript was assigned the catalogue number 7583, and was included as another witness of a portion of *PCG*. Hence, even in the *Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts* (1983) it appears as a late Alfonsine chronicle with no indication that this particular manuscript includes *Flores y Blancaflor*. As for the manuscript itself, most readers would have been unaware that the version of *Flores y Blancaflor* was an extremely important and entirely unknown (except to the now-deceased Gómez Pérez) witness to the popular European legend. Until now, it has remained unknown outside of Hispanism (and only to a very limited extent in Hispanic studies, mentioned briefly in Fradejas’s article on fourteenth-century Spanish prose fiction, “Algunas notas” 313–14).¹⁰

CRÓNICA DE FLORES Y BLANCAFLOR: THE STORY

Our manuscript, BN Madrid 7583 called the Chronicle, (chronicle-version or *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* throughout this study), lacks the first few folios and begins with events from the first half of the eighth century (approximately 739–68 of the Common Era) by listing the names of the territories and their corresponding bishoprics that had been under Christian control, but were conquered by (“sullied by,” the manuscript says) the followers of Mohammed. This corresponds to Chapter 576 of *PCG*; BN MS 7583 follows the general history as recounted in *PCG*, but compresses the chapters and

⁹ His next article (1965) remedied the earlier one’s omissions by including the number (MS 7583) and a description of the manuscript, but the title remains equally vague for any scholar interested specifically in pursuing this new information of the legend of *Floire and Blancheflor* in Spain (“Leyendas carolingias en España”).

¹⁰ In a footnote to his article on an eighteenth-century chapbook version of *Floire and Blancheflor*, Harvey Sharrer mentions that in Spain there are two prosified interpolations of the story, a summary found in García de Salazar’s *Libro de las bienandanzas e fortunas* and one published by Gómez Pérez in the Venezuelan journal.

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

changes some names. The actual story of the lovers Flores and Blancaflor begins at what would be Chapter 581 of *PCG*; instead of relating the history of Alfonso I, "el Católico", the chronicler instead begins the story of the lineage of Flores and Blancaflor, and he attempts to reconcile, whenever possible, the historical events as we know them with the love story that he incorporates.

The chapters that do not deal with Flores and Blancaflor have two narrative traits. First of all, they recount quite faithfully the occupation of southern Spain by Moorish Kings, such as Ysca, Yzid and Abilit, especially the skirmishes and civil wars that characterized Al-Andalus (the Arabic name for southern Spain, now Andalusia), and the Moorish Kings' confrontations with the Asturian Kings, Pelayo (Pelagius), Favila, Alfonso el Católico and Fruela, who do appear in the corresponding chapters of the reconstructed archetype of *PCG*. Secondly, they incorporate Fines (father of Flores), and then Flores, into some of these skirmishes. At the end of the story, when Flores is busily converting his Muslim subjects to Christianity, he is just as busily making peace with King Fruela I, "the Cruel" (757–68).¹¹

In some cases the Chronicle agrees with the aristocratic version of *Floire and Blancheflor*, in others with the popular one. It is a fuller tale than either of the French ones, and, as we shall see later, it resolves some of the lexical and cultural problems presented by the French versions. To shorten the summary, I will not repeat the basic outline of the story of *Floire and Blancheflor*, but will point out those episodes that do not appear in the early French versions, or that are radically expanded or different.

Fines (fictional name not appearing in *PCG*), the son of Ysca miramomelin (emir or caliph) marries his cousin, the daughter of Yzid, and discovers that his father will leave his empire not to his son, but to his nephew, Abilit, the son of Yzid (Ysca, Yzid and Alulit do appear in *PCG*).¹² In compensation, Ysca permits his son to choose any of their territories to rule. For its beauty and abundant resources,

¹¹ Charlemagne, born in 742, began his co-reign with his brother in 768 (his brother died two years later). According to the Spanish Chronicle, at the time that Flores was still converting Spain to Christianity and establishing treaties with Fruela, his daughter Berta (future mother of Charlemagne) is barely more than an infant. The chronicle-version tends to respect each sequence of events, that is, the names of the rulers (Moorish, Asturian and Carolingian) in chronological order, but the chronicler is little concerned with the dates or how those dates fail to dovetail.

¹² Menéndez Pidal records variants of the name Alulit in *PCG*: Alulid, Aulit, and Aballit.

Texts and Origins

Fines chooses Spain, where he makes his capital the port city of Almería.¹³

Fines sets out by boat for the northern part of Spain; landing on the coast, the Moors then ransack Galicia, which belongs to the Christians, and was a popular pilgrimage route.¹⁴ The as-yet-unborn Blancaflor travels with her French mother, a countess, and her grandfather, a duke, on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint James in Compostela.

The tutor chosen by King Fines for his son Flores is named Gaydon.¹⁵ However, there is also an advisor or valet named Gandifer, who is one of the King's servants. Flores sets out with troops and his two advisors, Gaydon and Gandifer, to find Blancaflor, and arrives at a city near Babilonia, called Bulvies. All the regional leaders are governed, we are told, by "el galifa" ("the caliph"), which means "apostle of the Moors." A lengthy episode ensues in which Flores frees the King of Babilonia from imprisonment in one of the castles of the caliph, with whom he is at war. The chronicler tells us that this event will be important later, when Flores is discovered with Blancaflor and accused of betraying the King.

After the discovery of Flores and Blancaflor in the tower the King of Babilonia calls together his counselors, and there ensues a lengthy debate about the guilt of the lovers, and whether they should be pardoned or condemned. Three emirs speak at length – Tençer, Gradifer and Alfanges – as do the tutor and the valet, Gaydon and Gandifer. Ultimately, the King is convinced that he should spare the lovers because he owed Flores his life, as we saw in the earlier episode when Flores saved the King from "el galifa." Flores asks the King to reward his (Flores's) helpers, Gloris, Daytes and his wife Licores and

¹³ The naming of Almería as the court makes historical sense, given that the Moorish rulers were, at this point, occupying Seville. Rather than substitute the fictional Fines for a historical ruler, the chronicler simply invents another plausible Moorish kingdom in a port city that was in fact under Muslim control. In a list of cities and fortresses that Fines included in his kingdom, the chronicler mentions Montor (*m̃tor*), which figures in many other versions of *Floire and Blancheflor* as, for example, Montorie, Muntorie and Montorio.

¹⁴ In this, the chronicler muddles history somewhat, by making the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela predate the legendary establishment of that route by Charlemagne. Flores and Blancaflor will eventually be the grandparents of Charlemagne. But as depicted in the Charlemagne window at Chartres, for example, legend has it that Saint James of Compostela appeared in a dream to Charlemagne, pointed to the Milky Way and a route through Galicia to his undiscovered tomb, and ordered Charlemagne to find it.

¹⁵ Gaydon the tutor appears as Gaidon, Gaidons and Gandes in MS A (the one that most editors use for critical editions of the aristocratic French tale). The counterpart of Gandifer the counselor in other versions is the usually unnamed seneschal, who is called Massamutino in *Filocolo*. The other versions have one or the other, a tutor or a counselor, but typically not both.

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

the porter of the tower, for their support. The King agrees to marry Gloris, and to abandon his custom of marrying and murdering a wife each year.

The next part of the story has some affinities with *Il Filocolo*, as I discuss in subsequent chapters, but it is very different from all the other early versions of the legend. When Flores and Blancaflor depart for Spain, their boat is separated from the others, and they are shipwrecked on an island that, legend has it, is one of those visited by the “confesor sant Bernaldo” and now inhabited by monks “de la orden de sant Agostin” (f. 41rb) (“of the Order of Saint Augustine”). The monks are fearful of the “pagan invaders” at first, but Saint Augustine himself appears to the prior to tell him that the young couple will ask to be baptized the next day. At the same time, Blancaflor remembers that her mother told her about Christianity, and she becomes filled with the desire to be baptized, since she realizes that they owe their recent good fortune to Jesus Christ. Flores, for his part, when he hears Blancaflor speak, is moved to agree with her, the text tells us, because of the influence of having drunk Berta’s (Christian) breast milk when he was a baby. The lovers are baptized, although they are not given new names, for the monks agree that their own names truly suit them, and the prior marries them “segunt manda la ley de Roma” (f. 42vb) (“according to the law of Rome”). Gandifer receives baptism, but the tutor, Gaydon, refuses.

The group departs once again for Spain, and this time their boat miraculously finds the other boats: on the third day of travel, at the same hour in which they had been shipwrecked on the island, the captain of the boat suddenly recognizes where they are, and they are reunited with their fellow travelers.

Back in Almería, amid much rejoicing, Flores tells his parents that he has become a Christian. The court moves to Córdoba; Flores embarks on a mission to convert all the pagans, by sword or by verbal persuasion. The Pope sends an emissary, Guarin, who is so effective as a religious and political counselor that the tutor, Gaydon, decides to be baptized. His new name is Agostin, which, according to the text, means “tardinero en creencia” (f. 47rb) (“late believer”). There is much discussion in the text of the various cities and regions converted by the newly baptized Christians, and many churches and bishoprics are established. Upon the death of his father, Flores becomes the Christian King of Spain, but this Christian kingdom does not, unfortunately, survive past the eighteen years of his reign, when the Moors once again

Texts and Origins

overrun much of Spain. The story now tells of the daughter of Flores and Blancaflor, Berta, named after Blancaflor's mother.

CRÓNICA DE FLORES Y BLANCAFLOR: VERNACULAR PROSE HISTORIOGRAPHY

There are four issues that we must address: the date of BN Madrid MS 7583 containing *Flores y Blancaflor*; the date of the composition of the chronicle-version, which is clearly earlier than the date of the actual manuscript; the dates in eighth-century Spanish history during which the story of the lovers is purported to have taken place; and the relationship of this story to the other European versions, specifically referring to the question of origin. Along with the questions of dating, it is important to ask why the love story was incorporated into the Alfonsine chronicle and what purpose the incorporation served. There are two narrative processes that occur in the Chronicle: the historicization of a fictional tale, and a particular shaping of the historicized fiction and of the historical events of PCG as recounted in the Chronicle. We will want to discuss here, and in the final chapter, "Generic Crossroads," why these two processes take place. One process, as we will see, deals with general trends in vernacular prose historiography, while the other fulfills, I believe, a particular historical need.

The chronicle-version of *Flores y Blancaflor* fits into a general category of Spanish historiography: the rewriting of the reasons for the fall of Spain to the Saracens in 711, and the Christian Peninsula's response to that event in subsequent decades. In the mid-eighth century, we find chronicles written by Christians living under Muslim rule, known as Mozarabs, and in the late-ninth century, chronicles written by Christians living outside Muslim jurisdiction in the mountain regions of Asturias (Wolf xv). Interestingly, the first group recounted the invasions of the Muslims as political acts, while the second group tended to cast early Spanish history in providential terms, as a punishment for the sins of their forefathers (Wolf xvi).

In particular, the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, who reigned from 866–910, recounts the conquering of Al-Andalus in providential terms.¹⁶ Moreover, this chronicle provides a fine example of the *ordo*

¹⁶ Another example of the view of providential patterns in history was the Prophetic Chronicle of 883, "royal annals combined with apocalyptic exegesis," which predicted the end of Saracen rule in Spain (Wolf 47).

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

gothorum, the connection chroniclers established between the lost Gothic kingdom (conquered in 711) and the Asturian kingdom, beginning with King Pelayo (Pelagius). It is precisely this time period that *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* records: Pelayo and Favila are mentioned, but the story of Flores's father begins with the reign of the third Asturian King, Alfonso I "the Catholic" (739–57).

While *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* does not give any recognition to the Asturian Kings as the reason for southern Spain's conversion to Christianity, it does fit the pattern of fall and redemption, a view of Spanish history as one of providential design. More specifically, it may represent a monastic response to the Asturian chronicles because the story informs us that monks in a monastery baptize Flores and Blancaflor, and send them back to Spain to convert the rest of Flores's countrymen. Thus the retaking of Al-Andalus does not come from the military exploits of northern Christian rulers, but from humble monks who are honored by a vision of Saint Augustine during the visit of Flores and Blancaflor. As we will see, Diego Catalán claims that there was much monastic intervention in thirteenth-century historiography.

According to Gómez Pérez, the incorporation of the love story, *Flores y Blancaflor*, into the chapters of *PCG* probably occurred in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, when the practice of incorporating epic material into historiography was prevalent. Because of internal evidence, more prominent in *Berta* and *Mainete* than in *Flores y Blancaflor*, but present in the latter nonetheless, these works probably circulated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as epics (Gómez Pérez "Leyendas medievales" 7–24). Therefore, although, judging from the scribal hand and the watermarks (Gómez Pérez "Leyendas carolingias" 121–48, especially 131), the manuscript itself is from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, the stories it contains are substantially earlier.

Let us consider, first, the significance for *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* of the Spanish work *Gran conquista de Ultramar*. One piece of evidence about the existence of an early *Flores y Blancaflor* that differs from the two Old French versions comes from a reference in *Gran conquista de Ultramar*. Although the dating of this text is not exact, it is generally agreed that it was composed around 1300 or slightly earlier (Gómez Pérez, citing the research of Menéndez Pidal and a manuscript that states that Sancho IV ordered its composition, puts it more specifically during the reign of Sancho from 1284 to 1295

Texts and Origins

[“Leyendas medievales”]). Before launching into the tale of Berta, the manuscript says:

E esta Berta fue hija de Blancaflor e de Flores, que era rey de Almería, la de España, e conquiero muy gran tierra en Africa e en España por su bondad, según su ystoria lo cuenta; e libró al rey de Babyloña de mano de sus enemigos, quando le dió a Blancaflor por muger, por juyzio de su corte, donde estos amos fueron los muchos enamorados de que ya oystes hablar. (Cooper; edn. of *Gran conquista* 561)

(And this Berta was the daughter of Blancaflor and of Flores, who was the King of Almería, the one in Spain, and who conquered many lands in Africa and in Spain through his goodness, as his story recounts; and who liberated the King of Babylon from the hands of his enemies, when they gave Blancaflor to him as a wife, through the judgment of the court, where these two were the great lovers about whom you have already heard.)

As we saw earlier in the chapter, when the positivist critics charted the transmission of manuscripts of *Floire and Blancheflor*, one method that they employed was to recognize certain features of the Old French versions as constants of each version, and then trace the presence or absence of those features in order to determine if a subsequent version derived from the aristocratic or the popular poem. For example, the linking of the story of the two lovers to Berthe and Charlemagne was a feature of the aristocratic tale only. Consequently, versions containing this feature were presumed to have derived from Version I of the story.

In the aristocratic version, Floire and Blancheflor are the monarchs of Hungary; in the popular, Floire is the King of Almería. The description found in *Gran conquista de Ultramar*, therefore, mixes features that were previously considered to occur in separate strains or versions of the legend, since the Flores described here is not only the King of Almería (popular element) but also the father of Berta (aristocratic element). Moreover, there is a feature not found in either the aristocratic or the popular French tales: the detail about the liberation of the King of Babylon from the hands of his enemies. It was this detail in *GCU*, along with other seemingly insoluble problems in the aristocratic and popular French versions, that caused Gaston Paris to postulate the probability of a “third strain” of *Floire and Blancheflor* that was, unfortunately, no longer extant, but that

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

would have combined elements of the popular and the aristocratic versions, and that would have been earlier than either the aristocratic or the popular tales. In fact, the Chronicle includes all three of the above-mentioned features: Flores is the King of Almería, his daughter is Berta, and one of the episodes in the Chronicle is the freeing of the King of Babilonia from “el galifa,” the caliph. We are far from finished with the evidence to prove that the *Flores y Blancaflor* contained in MS 7583 is a very early text, but its consistency with the reference in *GCU* and our acceptance of the hypothesis that *GCU* was composed during the reign of Alfonso el Sabio’s son Sancho IV (1284–95) are important steps in the process of establishing our Chronicle’s date.¹⁷

We are left with two time periods to discuss, the reign of Sancho IV and the late fourteenth century in Medieval Spain. We will look first at three general trends in vernacular prose historiography of the late thirteenth century in France and Spain, and then at the political activity of late-thirteenth and fourteenth-century Spain. We have already seen how the Chronicle fits into the Spanish trend of recounting history as a series of falls and redemptions. Karl Uitti sees a trend toward nationalism in the Alfonsine chronicles in general; the work of the historian Gabrielle Spiegel helps explain another feature of our Chronicle’s design, its emphasis on lineage; Diego Catalán’s studies help situate our Chronicle within a different general trend of Medieval Spain, the incorporation of fictional material into history.

Uitti has shown (“Historiographical Vernacularization”) that an important enterprise for both the thirteenth-century French *Grandes chroniques* and the Alfonsine *PCG* was to incorporate material in

¹⁷ Another summary of the story of *Flores y Blancaflor* appears in a mid-fifteenth-century chronicle, Lope García de Salazar’s *Las bienandanzas e fortunas* (“Good Fortune and Fate”). This one comprises most of one folio, and combines features of the aristocratic and popular French versions. Flores is the father of Berta (Genta Aluerta) and is the King of Almería. One feature not found in any other version is that the parents of Blancaflor are pilgrims (as they are in the popular French), a count and countess of Provence, but their pilgrimage is in honor of the birth of their daughter, who is six months old at the time of her capture by Flores’s father. Another odd feature is that Blancaflor’s mother breastfeeds the infant Flores because the pagan father says “que la leche de la christiana era / mejor que la de los moros” (Rodríguez Herrero 153) (“that the Christian’s milk was better than that of the Moors”). Blancaflor, then, had to rely on goat’s milk, but her mother breastfed her whenever she could do it in secret. Blancaflor’s mother dies, which is a feature of the Italo-Spanish group, that is, Boccaccio’s tale, the anonymous *Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore* and the sixteenth-century Spanish prose romance. García de Salazar’s recounting of the legend, then, combines some features that are found in the aristocratic French, the Chronicle and some of the later versions of the story. Two features, the above-mentioned episode of the breast milk and another, the bringing of Flores into the tower in a basket, will be discussed shortly (below pp. 43–46, 65–72).

Texts and Origins

such a way that it tends to “nationalize” the country, even though the political reality may be different, that is, that the expanses of land known today as Spain and France were divided into individually governed kingdoms during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These two great encyclopedic undertakings promoted an “idea” of France and “idea” of Spain. *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* refers often to Fines and the adult Flores as the Kings of Spain, even though we know the political reality was very different. Even within the Chronicle itself, King Flores deals with Fruela I, a King of Asturias, and with various Moorish rulers of Andalusia, so the notion that there is an “España” is impressionistic rather than historically specific.

Gabrielle Spiegel discusses the increasing custom of eleventh and twelfth-century France to view historical events through the lens of dynasties and political families. In chronicle after chronicle, the nobility creates dynasties based on genealogical material, often demonstrating in a self-serving fiction how their ancestors go back to Charlemagne (78–80). She considers the “social logic of the text” in which emerge, within the kind of writing these genealogical histories produce, the particular concerns of people during a particular historical moment (77). It is this idea of social logic that I will discuss shortly.

Diego Catalán examines what he calls the “novelization” of historical material in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in order to postulate a trend of monastic writings that had as their goal something related to the various monasteries and not simply an interest in a faithful recounting of history (“Poesía y novela”). This position is indirectly supported by Colin Smith, who describes the reliance of the twelfth-century *Estoria del Çid* on the legend of Charlemagne, as found in Einhard’s *Vita Karoli*, for one.¹⁸ Smith found that the stories of Charlemagne’s exploits, both historical and highly fictionalized, enjoyed renewed popularity in the twelfth century. Two important points emerge here: there is evidence of a tendency to incorporate fictional material into chronicles at a date earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries and another tendency to bring material into line with Carolingian legends.

The issue of the chronicler Sigiberto, who is cited in *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* as having authored a history of the Moorish Kings

¹⁸ Smith was unable to trace references to Einhard in Spain, but the evidence he provides of concurrence between the Charlemagne legend and that of the Cid seems indisputable.

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

of southern Spain, is problematic. The chapters of *Primera crónica general* that precede the interpolation of *Flores y Blancaflor* make reference to a "Sigiberto," saying merely that Sigiberto had recounted something of the sort. In *Flores y Blancaflor*, however, the references become somewhat more specific in that Sigiberto is credited with having translated the Arabic story of Floire and Blancheflor into Castilian (f. 8v), having composed a history of African Kings who ruled also in southern Spain (f. 5v), and having been an eyewitness to the coronation of Flores and Blancaflor in Córdoba (f. 45r) (a feature that only Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo* maintains with the eyewitness-narrator Ilario).

Gómez Pérez attaches little significance to the references to Sigiberto, dismissing Catalán's claims that there could have been a Spanish chronicler of that name. For him, either Sigiberto is imaginary in all the Spanish works that mention him, including *PCG*, or the name refers to the famous chronicler Sigebert, Sujulbert, or Gilbert de Gembloux, author of the encyclopedic *Chronographia*, and appears in the Spanish only to lend authority to the works.

Diego Catalán studied the references to Gilberto and Sujulberto that occur in other chronicles and concludes that there was indeed a *Grande estoria del Señorío de África*, now lost, that was composed by a monk, possibly from the monastery of San Pedro de Cardena ("Estoria de los Reyes" 352).¹⁹ He goes even further, hypothesizing 1284–95 – the reign of Sancho IV – as a likely time of composition for the lost chronicle. This is, perhaps not coincidentally, the date that Gómez Pérez postulates for the *Gran conquista de Ultramar*, which would make that work (with its reference to *Flores y Blancaflor*) coetaneous with the lost *Grande estoria de África* that is mentioned in the Chronicle *Flores y Blancaflor*. In addition, it is interesting, given the connection of the Chronicle *Flores y Blancaflor* with the Charlemagne legend, that Colin Smith noted an influx of Carolingian material in *Estoria del Çid*, a work that is connected with the monastery at Cardena, while Catalán concludes, about a seemingly unrelated topic, that Gilberto or Sujulberto was familiar with "Estoria del Cid" and may well have been a monk at Cardena. Could *Flores y Blancaflor* have had some connection with Cardena?

¹⁹ Deyermund accepts Catalán's judgment on the matter and date (last quarter of the 13th c.) and includes it in his catalogue of lost literature as a work that "certainly or probably existed" (*La Corónica* 93) and accepts it as having somehow been affiliated with San Pedro de Cardena (95).

Texts and Origins

Catalán's opinions about the compilation of such works as *Grande estoria del Señorío de África* are no longer mere conjecture if we include in his category the chronicle-version of *Flores y Blancaflor*:

Al lado de la historiografía oficial del reino castellano, se desarrolló durante el s.XIII una historiografía de inspiración monacal, menos erudita, muy poco respetuosa de la verdad histórica, lanzada claramente por el camino de la novelización. Este género de historia anovelada dió amplia acogida a las leyendas épicas; pero, carente del científico respeto por las fuentes que caracteriza a las escuelas alfonsíes, las trató, como al resto de sus materiales, con extraordinaria libertad. ("*Estoria de los Reyes*" 353)

(Alongside the official historiography of the Castilian realm, a historiography of monastic inspiration developed during the thirteenth century, less erudite, not at all respectful of historical truth, clearly launched on the road of novelization. This genre of novelistic history welcomed epic legends; but, lacking the scientific respect for sources that characterizes the Alfonsine schools, it treated them, along with the rest of its material, with extraordinary freedom.)

Given the tendency of the compilers of this time period (late thirteenth century) to compose such works of history and fantasy (as both Gómez Pérez and Catalán agree), and Catalán's belief in, and dating of, the work of a Spanish Sigiberto (Gilberto or Sujulberto) that is further supported by the references in *Flores y Blancaflor*, and the reference in the late thirteenth-century *Gran conquista de Ultramar* to a *Flores y Blancaflor* that had its own "estoria" and that matches the one in the Chronicle, I think it highly possible to regard our Chronicle *Flores y Blancaflor* as the work of the late thirteenth century. This conclusion does not preclude the possibility of an even earlier version of *Flores y Blancaflor*, as we will see shortly, but it does at least establish the Spanish Chronicle as a work that predates Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo*. This is an important point because, as I will discuss in later chapters, much of what has been considered to be original material by Boccaccio occurs in the Chronicle.

We have, then, four trends in vernacular prose historiography that have relevance for *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*: the nationalization of the history of Spain; the tendency to fold historical events into a universal pattern of Christian history, of historical and spiritual falls and redemptions; the tendency to record history according to genea-

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

logies and dynastic implications; and the “novelization” of history, or the historicization of fiction.

The question that has been left out in all of this is a most pertinent one: why historicize this particular love story, the tale of Floire and Blancheflor? In order to answer that, we return to the idea of the social logic of the text.

In 1269, Alfonso el Sabio married his son Fernando de la Cerda to a French princess, Blanche, the daughter of Louis IX, one of the descendants of Charlemagne, thereby creating a political alliance with France as well as a relationship to the lineage of Charlemagne.²⁰ Fernando died in 1275, leaving two small sons. Conflict developed when the supporters of King Alfonso’s surviving son, Sancho, argued that the Castilian throne should pass to Sancho and not to Fernando’s son, the half-French Alfonso de la Cerda.

In addition to their concern over the issue of inheritance, the nobles criticized King Alfonso for the presence of Roman legists in the Castilian *cortes*, arguing that Castilian nobles should be judged by their peers and not by foreigners.

When Alfonso el Sabio died in 1284, Sancho seized the throne, but the internal political conflicts and the tension between Castile and France continued. The King of Navarre offered his support to Fernando’s son, whose mother, Blanche, travelled to France to enlist the aid of her brother, now King of France.

Even from the cursory summary above, we can see why *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* could serve as a political allegory. First of all, it is possible that the names Fernando and Blanche, or Blanca as she would have been called in Spain, recall Flores and Blancaflor. Secondly, the historical relationship of the real Blanca to Charlemagne reminds us of Blancaflor’s fictional relationship to Charlemagne. What is most important is that a glorious French and Spanish dynasty is recalled in the Chronicle at a time in the late thirteenth century when the kingdom of Castile was bitterly divided over the very issue of lineage and dynastic inheritance, and when that dynastic inheritance involved Spain and France. The *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* argues indirectly for the importance of dynasty and for a historical, even divine, establishment of a dynasty that links the thrones of Spain and France.

An important part of the Chronicle is the material that deals with

²⁰ For the following historical information, I summarize the work of Joseph F. O’Callaghan in his monumental *A History of Medieval Spain*.

Texts and Origins

Spain's conversion to Christianity and the political influence of the unnamed Pope's emissary to King Flores's court in Córdoba. King Flores's most trusted Moorish adviser, Gaydon, refuses baptism because he does not believe in the Christian religion. However, when he sees how the country advances politically and technologically under the guidance of Flores's supposedly spiritual adviser from Rome, Gaydon converts to Christianity. This may relate allegorically to the presence of the Roman legists in the Castilian courts, and to Alfonso el Sabio's belief, as well as that of his supporters, that their presence advanced the kingdom rather than disadvantaged the nobility.

My hypothesis, then, is that BN MS 7583 dates from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, but is a copy of the compilation that dates from the reign of Sancho IV (1284–95). A logical question is what impelled the scribe to copy this particular story. When we consider the political activity of the Iberian kingdoms of the late fourteenth century, we see that, once again, Franco-Castilian alliances are being promoted and contested by various factions. This is the time of the Great Western Schism, the division of the papacy between Avignon and Rome, and supporters of both popes attempted to establish the allegiance of Castile to one side or the other. The Chronicle clearly supports the idea of the papacy in Rome.

Within Spain, Franco-Castilian conflicts continued, but when Enrique II died in 1379, he advised his son Juan I of Castile (1379–90) always to be a friend to the Royal House of France (O'Callaghan 528). While political turmoil over the succession to the thrones of the medieval Iberian kingdoms continued, Juan I, for his part, argued the legitimacy of his claim to the Castilian crown by descent from Alfonso el Sabio's son, Fernando. This effectively branded Sancho IV and his successors as usurpers, and recognized Castile as governed by a French and Spanish family dynasty.

In the late fourteenth century, then, *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* would gain renewed life by emphasizing the Roman papacy, the glorious heritage of a dynasty through marriage between a Spanish man and a French woman, and additionally by calling attention to matrilineal inheritance. In the Chronicle God promises Berta, the French countess, that she will initiate the greatest dynasty on earth, which happens when her grandson Charlemagne is born. Now Juan I of Castile can turn this to his own advantage when he claims legitimacy through his mother.

Thus we see that the story of Flores and Blancaflor fits well into

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

both the time of its postulated composition, the reign of Sancho IV, and into the time of the extant manuscript, the late fourteenth century.

FLOIRE AND BLANCHEFLOR IN SCANDINAVIA

There is only one complete version of *Floire and Blancheflor* extant in Scandinavia: the Icelandic prose *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, a copy of a lost Norwegian version. Other witnesses in Scandinavia include a fragment of the Old Norse saga, the fragments of a second Icelandic saga, an Old Swedish poem and the Danish translations from the Swedish.

Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr belongs to the Old Norse-Icelandic writings known as *riddarasögur* (sagas of knights, chivalric sagas) and, occasionally, *lygisögur* (lying sagas, fictional sagas). There are two general categories: translations of Continental works and works by indigenous Icelandic writers. *Flóres saga* is a translation, but the lovers reappear in the background of an indigenous romance, *Síгурðar saga pögla*, which recounts, among other things, the courtship of Sedentiana, daughter of Flóres and Blankiflúr, by the hero Sigður.

In 1226, King Hákon Hákonarson of Norway commissioned one Brother Robert to translate the Old French *Tristan* into Norwegian. His name appears in the colophon, but nothing else is known about him. There are other works presumed to be his translations, among them a version of *Flóres saga*, as well as *Karlamagnússaga*, an Old Norse prose version of Charlemagne's exploits compiled sometime between 1230 and 1250 (Le Gentil).

Geraldine Barnes ("Some Observations," "Cunning and Ingenuity") considers *Flóres saga* to be a fairly faithful translation of the aristocratic French tale, despite some differences – notably the material at the end of the story, in which Flóres and Blankiflúr decide to found a monastery and a nunnery, respectively, and live in them. She notes that the trial scene of the lovers in the Emir's realm contains material that appears in no other version of the story. In fact it appears in the Spanish Chronicle.

Gould advances an interesting argument regarding the origin of a group of tales called *fornaldarsögur* (sagas of antiquity), written in Iceland shortly before 1300. He studied one entitled *Fridþjófs saga*, and, having found it to be morally distasteful and distinctly "un-northern," set about trying to discover how such stories could have found their way into Iceland. Gould relates the story to *Aucassin et*

Texts and Origins

Nicolette and, especially, *Floire et Blancheflor*, citing previous work (Huet, "Sur l'origine") on the affinities between the content of those works and Arabic tales. He points out, moreover, that *Floire et Blancheflor* shares a striking thematic bond with *Fridþjófssaga* in the matter of the hero and heroine having fallen in love as children. Gould describes the Vikings' frequent contact with Moorish Spain, and offers a variety of ways in which the "Arabic" story of Floire and Blancheflor might have been brought to Iceland even earlier than Brother Robert's (or one of his compatriots') translation of the Old French version in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Writings do seem to have migrated from Spain to Norway: Leach, for one, claims that this is the case both for literary and historical writings.²¹ Jochens's study of consent in marriage uses as one historical case the marriage of Hákon's daughter, Kristín, to Alfonso el Sabio's brother Felipe as an example of how consent in marriage came to the north from the churchmen of the south, and she cites a specific example to prove that Kristín's consent was an important issue for the Spanish.²²

As we saw, Gould's examination of *Fridþjófssaga* indicates that this work quite possibly had Arabic sources, possibly an independent version of *Floire and Blancheflor*. Kölbing, the editor of *Flóres saga ok Blankiþlúr*, compares *Fridþjófssaga* and *Flóres saga* with some Icelandic dance ballads (*rímur*), called *Reinalds-rímur*, from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and concludes that these ballads of Reinald and the heroine Rosa represent another version of *Floire and Blancheflor* that is "based on a lost Icelandic saga which in turn is based on an Old French poem which has not come down to us" (Gould 234): that is to say, on an independent version of the tale rather than on the aristocratic French as it is represented in the Old Norse-Icelandic *Flóres saga* known to us today.²³

²¹ Gelsinger examines the Castilian-Norwegian alliance and concludes that there was much interaction between the two countries, although he does not specifically mention literary activity.

²² Jochens analyzes three historical cases of the betrothal and marriage of Norwegian women and the issue of their consent, and examines, as well, how consent is treated in literary works. Her conclusion is that the *riddarasögur* that are translated are much more sensitive to the issue of consent in marriage than are the indigenous *riddarasögur* and the *fornaldarsögur* (the legendary sagas that deal with Scandinavia in the ancient past), which lends credence to her belief that consent was not a northern idea, but a southern one that entered Scandinavia somewhat slowly.

²³ Gould reports the findings of earlier critics ("Jón Porkelsson, the chief authority on this period, was inclined in 1866 to credit the statement of Jón Olafsson of Grunnavík, made in 1644, that they [the *rímur*] 'were made up in the western fjords by two beggars, a man and a

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

Critics dealing with *Flóres saga ok Blankiþlúr* rely on Kölbing's late-nineteenth-century edition of the only complete extant manuscript of the Scandinavian version of *Floire and Blancheflor*, which is a fifteenth-century Icelandic copy of the presumed Norwegian translation of the Old French poem, and we must not forget "the varying roles the transmitters of romance in the North played as translators, copyists, editors, and authors" (Kalinke 345). While *Flóres saga ok Blankiþlúr* is indeed one of the translated *riddarasögur* and not an indigenous romance, we do not have a manuscript that dates from the time of King Hákon's court, but a considerably later Icelandic copy. Lorenz Ernst, in 1912, concluded that the Scandinavian manuscripts could not be satisfactorily classified.

Therefore we must not be complacent regarding *Flóres saga*'s seeming reliance on the aristocratic French version, up to the point where the lovers' trial takes place, and assume that there can have been no other source for the Scandinavian version. For, we recall, what Barnes notes as a difference in tone and content, in the trial scene of *Flóres saga*, from the aristocratic French does occur in *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*. Moreover, she notes the strange relationship of *Flóres saga* to *heilagra manna sögur* (saints' lives) and of some *riddarasögur* to the "mirror of princes" tradition (which, we will see in subsequent chapters, informs much of *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*). There is no compelling reason why these features in the Old Norse *Floire and Blancheflor* should not reflect its derivation from chronicles or epics that circulated in Spain in the thirteenth century or even earlier. On the contrary, it is highly likely that the Scandinavian texts of *Flóres saga ok Blankiþlúr* and *Reinalds-rímur* owe much to Spanish antecedents.

While I think it likely that the two countries exchanged tales, I find no evidence to indicate that the chronicle-version of *Flores y Blancaflor* derived from *Flóres saga ok Blankiþlúr*. I can, on the other hand, cite various examples such as those mentioned above which would indicate that Hákon's court may have been privy to southern versions of *Floire and Blancheflor*, and specifically versions from Spain. While I cannot prove it at this stage, I think it possible that an early version from thirteenth-century Spain went back to Scandinavia with the

woman,' and to think that they were based directly on *Flóres ok Blankiþlúr*" [234]), but he finds more convincing the opinion of Kölbing that the *rímur* reflect a lost version of the legend of *Floire and Blancheflor*, an opinion shared by Margaret Schlauch (*Romance in Iceland*).

Texts and Origins

envoy from King Hákon of Norway (the Norwegian group did, after all, spend one year at Alfonso's court simply arranging the betrothal, and another period of time preparing the wedding and festivities), and that is perhaps how the Spanish and Old Norse-Icelandic manuscripts came to have some odd concurrences.

LEXICAL DILEMMAS

Unless more manuscripts surface, with clear indications of their provenance – unlikely at best – then we are faced with some interesting issues regarding the relationship of *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* to the Old French and the Old Norse versions that can be addressed only by hazarding some guesses, some with weightier evidence than others. The slight differences between versions are the stuff of critical editions, which is far from my intention here. In this section, I will address six issues that have been important to earlier critics, especially those of the turn of the century, in attempting to establish patterns within the versions, and relationships between them. We can attempt to unscramble some of the confused readings and variant texts of *Floire and Blancheflor* by concentrating on a few features of various versions that have some association with *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*.

One of the judges in the trial of the lovers is named “Alfages” in Diederick van Assenede's Dutch version of the tale, presumed to have derived from the aristocratic French poem and perhaps some northern translation of the aristocratic French: “Doe stoet op een coninc, die Alfages hiet” (l. 3488). Du Ménil notes that the naming of the judge occurs in no other version of the tale, and is perhaps the one detail that suggests that Diederick knew another tradition of the legend (xliv). Instead of accounting for the surprising fact in some way, Du Ménil dismisses it by stating that had Diederick known another tradition, there would have been more than one clue in his text to that fact.

The Chronicle, however, names three judges: Tençer, Gradifer and Alfanges, who have quite large speaking roles during the trial; moreover, the name Alfanges appears twice in the manuscript as Alfages (f. 33). I believe that an earlier version of the chronicle-material traveled to the north, possibly to Norway during the time of the Castilian-Norwegian alliance of the 1250s, and that Diederick's version retains one of the features of that earlier Spanish work. If the material of the chronicle-version did travel to the north, then the presence of the

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

name Alfages, matched only by the Spanish name of Alfanges, becomes, if not a matter of course, then at least far less surprising than before.

Another interesting issue is the identity of a book that Blancheflor supposedly reads. While Floire and Blancheflor are together in the tower, Claris dissembles when the emir questions her about Blancheflor's lateness one morning:

Gloris respont: "Sire, merci!
Tote nuit a liut en son livre
que a joie peüssiés vivre . . ." (v. 2534–36, Leclanche MS A)

Claris, essaying to explain
Said: "Sire, she fell asleep again.
She read her book all through the night
So that you might live in delight." (v. 2332–35, Hubert)

Hubert mentions, in one of his rare comments on the text, that "the nature of this book is never revealed" (90). Neither Leclanche nor Wirtz offers an explanation as to the identity of the book; Pelan suggests that it was undoubtedly a book of magic.

Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor, however, provides a very logical description of Blancaflor's alleged activity: "Gloris por la escusar dixo que toda esa noche non durmiera leyendo en vn libro de oraciones rrogando adios por el que le diese vida e salud e que fincara cansada e se adurmiera ala mannana (f. 28rb). ("Gloris, in order to offer an excuse, said that she hadn't slept all night because she was reading a prayer-book, praying to God that he give him [the King] life and health, and she became so tired that she fell asleep in the morning.")

That Blancheflor read a religious book until dawn is the reason proffered by the Middle Dutch, the Old Norse and the Middle High German versions, and implied by the Middle English tale:

She hath wakid all this night
And y-cryde and y-loke
And y-redde on hur booke
And y-bede to God her orisone
That He geve thee his benisone
And that He holde long thy lif. (v. 856–61, Sands)²⁴

²⁴ Sands bases his 1966 edition on the Egerton manuscript (MS Egerton 2862, also known as the Trentham or Sutherland MS), but McKnight's reading of the Cambridge MS and MS Cotton Vitellius D. III and Taylor's of the Auchinleck MS confirms that the nature of the book as a religious one is present in all four of the surviving Middle English manuscripts.

Texts and Origins

Fleck's rendering is similar ("... alle naht, unz es taget, / liset sî an ir salter" [v. 6222–23, E. Sommer]), as is the Old Norse ("alla nótt ok song á bók sína" [*Flor.* XX, l. 7], rendered in a footnote by the editor Kölbing as "sang aus ihrem (Psalter)buche" (64, n.7). In Diederich's poem, the word is "boekelkijn" (v. 3128), and the editor, J. J. Mak, notes it as being the equivalent of "gebedenboekje" or "prayerbook" (142).

When Giaccone summarized Reinhold's findings of the alpha and beta strains of the aristocratic *Floire and Blancheflor* (alpha = MS Fr. A/C, beta= MS Fr. B), he concluded that the Trier-fragments and the Old Norse belong with MSS A and C, while the beta strain includes MS B, the Middle High German (Fleck), the Middle Dutch (Diederich) and the Middle English versions. Lorenz Ernst concluded in 1912, however, four years before the discovery of the Palatine fragment, that the Scandinavian versions could not be satisfactorily classified. Unfortunately, Pal. lat. 1971 ends before this episode, so we cannot use it as a measuring device, for it surely represents, as does the Chronicle, a third strain, gamma. Nevertheless, we have a point in common – the nature of the book – for the Spanish Chronicle and several northern versions that is absent in the aristocratic French, a fact that further indicates that another strain, perhaps similar to the Chronicle, was circulating in the North.²⁵

To sum up, then, the kind of book that Claris claims that Blancheflor was reading is a psalter or prayerbook. General opinion is that the French aristocratic versions as we know them, in MSS A, B, C and Pal. lat. 1971, are the oldest known versions and gave rise to the other known Northern versions. But this detail of the psalter or prayerbook occurs also in a heretofore unknown southern version, *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*. My point, then, is that the southern version and the other northern versions derive from another strain. In this case, it cannot be a result of the Spanish Chronicle being known in Scandinavia, because Fleck's reworking was done in the early thirteenth century (c. 1230). This is an issue of manuscript transmis-

²⁵ Suzanne Hannedouche faithfully translates MS B into modern French and therefore does not indicate the nature of the book that Claris mentions. Another reworking, the 1930 French modernization by Jean Marchand – which is based on "la première version française" and footnotes the 1856 edition by Du Ménil (11) – rather surprisingly refers to the book as "son livre des oraisons" (107). Although he states that he made some changes in the text based on "leçons des divers manuscrits," he could not have known the Spanish Chronicle given that he also says that the legend was known in medieval Spain, "s'il n'y a pas eu de version espagnole ancienne" (11). Therefore, he probably consulted the English versions, although he may have studied Fleck, the Saga or Diederich.

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

sion, however, and diffusion of the legend, not one of origin. I still believe that much of the content of *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* must be earlier than Fleck, if only because of the treatment of geography, which, as we will see shortly, appears in Fleck as a mixing of more than one legend.

Gaston Paris argued that certain features in the anonymous Italian *Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo*, and the sixteenth-century Spanish prose romance, *Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor* seemed to him to be more logical than some in the aristocratic French, and that these Italian and Spanish tales probably derived from an earlier Italo-Spanish version that pre-dated the aristocratic French poem. This is the "third strain" that he considered likely to have existed, and that, according to him, would have combined features of both the aristocratic and popular French versions.

One feature in the Chronicle differs, as far as I can tell, from all the other early versions of the tale, as well as from the *Filocolo* and the sixteenth-century Spanish prose romance: what allegedly flew out of the basket of flowers that contained the hidden Floire. In the aristocratic French, Claris reaches into the basket of flowers, screams, but immediately surmises that this must be the beloved of her friend Blancheflor, so she quickly invents an excuse for her scream: a butterfly has flown into her face. This is maintained in the Trier-fragments, the Middle English, the Old Norse and the popular French versions; Pal. lat. 1971 terminates before this episode begins. In *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, however, it is Blancaflor who screams, and she claims that a bumblebee ("vn auejon") flew into her face.²⁶ In Diederick, the translator of the Dutch version (whose work is the only other one known to contain the name of the judge Alfages, who appears in the Chronicle as Alfanges and Alfages), it is also Blancheflor who screams, although she claims that it is a bird that has flown into her face. The summary of *Flores y Blancaflor* found in García de Salazar's *Libro de las bienandanzas e fortunas* also indicates that it is Blancaflor who screams, although she does not pretend that she has been startled by anything; rather she screams out of joy upon seeing

²⁶ "Auejon" is the medieval Spanish word for bumblebee, but in fact, it is unclear if Blancaflor in the Chronicle claims to find a large *bird*, because "on" is the suffix that indicates the large size of the object in question. Thus, "ave", "bird", could become "auejon" or "large bird", making the connection between the Chronicle and the Dutch version even stronger since it is a bird that flies in Blancheflor's face in Diederick's tale.

Texts and Origins

Flores, and the lovers fall to the floor in a swoon (Rodríguez Herrero 154).

In Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, it is Glorizia who puts her hand in the basket, but she, too, describes what flew out as a "bird" ("un uccello") (IV:109). The bird instead of the butterfly is clearly not the invention of *Filocolo* (c. 1338), but comes from an earlier version, in this case as evidenced by Diederich and possibly the Chronicle. The Spanish prose romance (c. 1530s) maintains that it is a bird, but here it is an identified species: Glorizia puts her hand in the basket and a nightingale allegedly flies out.

Two facts emerge at the same time in the Chronicle: that it is Blancaflor who screams, and that she claims that the offending object was a bee. The Chronicle is the only version to have a bee instead of a bird or a butterfly. What is interesting, though, is that Blancaflor, not Claris, is the one who has been frightened in both Diederich (c. 1255) and the Chronicle, giving us further evidence that some version was common to both of those works.

In the following three examples, an examination of the Chronicle helps to explain three muddled points or features in the aristocratic French version: the breastfeeding of Floire and Blancheflor, the geography in the text, and the tone of the trial scene in the Old Norse and Chronicle versions.

The first case in point is a line in the aristocratic French version which has caused a certain amount of puzzlement. Moignet was the first to question the logic of Margaret Pelan's emendation of v.177 in MS B of the aristocratic version as given in her 1956 edition. After the birth of Floire and Blancheflor, the pagan king entrusts the children's care to someone. Because MS B says "la roine," "the queen," which makes no sense, Pelan emends the line according to how she thinks that it appears in Pal. lat. 1971, which she gives as an appendix to her critical edition of MS B: "l'Aravie," which would mean, presumably, the Arab woman:

Conmandé l'ont a l'Aravie,
Pour ce qu'ele iert de sens garnie,
A nourrir et a mestroier
Dou tretout fors de l'aletier;
Une paienne l'aletoit
Si con leur lois le commandoit
Moult le norrissit doucemen
Et gardoit ententivement

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

Plus que sa fille; ne savoit

Lequel des deus plus chier avoit. (v. 177–86)

Moignet finds that “la roine” is an unacceptable reading, but challenges Pelan’s emendation, “l’Aravie,” of the Pal. lat. 1971 variant by explaining that “the Arab woman” makes no more sense here than “the queen” would have done, given that the poet then states that a “pagan woman” was brought in to nurse the boy because it would have been against the law for the other woman to do so. It makes little sense for the two women to be an Arab and a pagan, since, logically, both would have been pagan. Moreover, to say that the Arab woman loved him [Floire] more than her daughter, who is presumably Blancheflor, again makes no sense unless the woman is the Christian captive. Hence, for Moignet, the reading should be “la ravie,” “the captured woman,” not “l’Aravie,” “the Arab woman.”

Although Hubert follows Pelan’s edition for his English translation, he evades the lexical problem by assuming that Pelan was wrong:

They placed him in the Christian’s care –

She was kind, as they were well aware. –

She did not nurse him at the breast

But cared for him in all the rest.

A paynim nursed him; this was done

By rule of their religion.

The Christian reared him tenderly,

More than her own child. Nor did she

Within her heart distinguish clearly

Which of the two she loved more dearly. (v. 177–86)

Wilhelmine Wirtz includes the Palatine fragment as an appendix to her edition of MS A, but does not provide a critical apparatus or notes for it. Her reading of v.177 (v. 47 Pal. lat. 1971) is “a la rauie,” although it is impossible to know if she is correct in the manner in which she separates the words of the line. Leclanche, the most recent editor of MS A argues that “la ravie” for MS B is a “médiocre” reading and, he surmises, it should be “la romie,” “the Christian slave,” even though he admits that the Palatine fragment confirms B with “la rauie” (120). In his edition of MS A, he gives, as did Wirtz, “la damoisele.”

Valerie Fildes has documented in her book on the history of

Texts and Origins

breastfeeding the many laws, customs and statutes throughout medieval Europe that banned the intermingling of races and religions through breast milk, as forbidden for Christians as it was for Jews and Moors. That King Fines gives his permission is not so odd (I discuss the literary implications of this act in Chapter Three), nor is it odd that it is forbidden in the French, for it was a prohibited activity at that time in France. Yet there is what can only be called something muddled in the aristocratic French poem, as evidenced by the debate over the various readings of the manuscripts.

Lexical dilemmas, then, persist even though subsequent critics dismissed Pelan's reading as illogical. For if Pelan's reading is correct, then there are three women – however ill-defined in the poem – that is, “l'Aravie,” “une paienne,” and the one who loved “him” more than her daughter, presumably the mother of Blancheflor. *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* cannot explain directly the muddled passage in the aristocratic French poem and the Palatine fragment, but it can do so indirectly. In the Chronicle, King Fines approaches Berta, Blancaflor's mother, after the birth of the babies, telling her that he has engaged *two* women to nurse them:

“Mandar vos he yo dar dos mugeres con leche que vos sirvan e vos crien este niño mio fijo e vuestra fija e desque fueron [sic] criados fazer vos he mucho bien e mucha merced por ello. ally respondio la condesa berta e dixo asi: señor criarlos he yo assy commo vos mandares e seades pagado” (f. 7rb).

(“I will send you two wetnurses to serve you and nurse my son and your daughter for you, and in so doing, I will be honoring you and granting you a gift. Then Countess Berta responded thus: Sire, let me nurse them as you command and may you be satisfied”.)

According to the Chronicle the Queen's language was “algarauia” (f. 7ra), and the people of Fines' kingdom were “alaraues” (f. 8va), a word which looks suspiciously like Pelan's reading of the French: “l'Aravie.” In the Chronicle, and in the corresponding chapters of *Primera crónica general*, the chronicler occasionally refers to “alaraues e moros” and “los alaraues.” The chroniclers often distinguished between types of inhabitants, so it would not be unusual in a Spanish chronicle to refer to more than one kind of non-Christian. “Los alaraues” is probably a corruption of “los árabes,” “the Arabs.” Many Spanish words retain the initial “al” even though

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

it is specifically the definite article “the.” And we have in the Chronicle, initially, two wetnurses and Berta, the Christian. When Berta asks him, the King relents and permits her to nurse and raise the two babies, relieving the need for the use of the other two women. It is possible that the French poet referred to another version, perhaps a Spanish one, in which there were also two wetnurses, perhaps one “alaraue” and one “mora” or “pagana.” While that does not explain why the poets of Pal. lat. 1971 and MS B left the passage unclear, it might help to explain why there would be two women, “l’Aravie” and “une paienne.”²⁷

Geography is a thorny issue in *Floire and Blancheflor* criticism. Some critics have recognized placenames in the story, but Hubert’s assessment sums up rather well the general view of geography in the legend:

Perhaps it is appropriate to point out that except for Babylon – which of course is Cairo – the geography is very perplexing, or would be if one did not simply accept it as fanciful. The Saracen king, setting forth on his raid on Christian territory, sails from Spain to Galicia; when he returns laden with loot, he returns to Naples, which Pelan suggests may be Noples, a spot whose existence may be purely literary [...] Floire is sent, ostensibly to study, to Montoire, which is equally vague. When he later takes ship in search of Blanchefleur, his sea-voyage terminates at Bauduc, of which we learn that it is perched on a cliff high above the water, and that it is four days’ journey from Babylon [...] I have been unable to identify any of these places. And even Cairo has its confusing aspects, for it is fringed by the Euphrates, “one of the rivers of paradise.” I think one may fairly describe the topography as imaginary, created by the poet out of names he has heard or read. (19–20)

If one considers the geography of the aristocratic French version, Hubert indeed has a point, although I believe that reasonable explanations can be found for many of the places.

A first step is to examine these same points in *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*. King Fines chooses for his kingdom the area known as Spain, and settles in the port city of Almería on the Mediterranean

²⁷ Unfortunately Lope García de Salazar’s summary in *Bienandanzas* does not help us to clarify the issue of breastfeeding, for in this version, as I mentioned earlier, the pagan King prefers “Christian” milk to that of the Moorish women, a position that approximates that of the Chronicle but is not identical, for Flores’s father in the Chronicle agrees to let Berta nurse, but does not overtly seek such an arrangement.

coast, which was indeed an important center of Muslim occupation. When he sets out on a raid of Christian territory, he and his men go by boat to Galicia. This is historically likely: not only were Spain's rivers considered to be unnavigable (MacKay 8), but the peninsula was deeply divided between Christian and Moor, with pockets of territory belonging to each group making land travel slow and dangerous. Consequently, what appears to be illogical in the aristocratic French – the King of Spain leaves Spain for Galicia and returns to Naples! – is easily explained in the Chronicle. Naples or Noples is never mentioned in the Chronicle; King Fines returns to Almería and later moves his court to Córdoba.²⁸ MacKay describes the opulence and sophistication of Al-Andalus, Muslim Spain, the vast terrain of the Iberian Peninsula that the Muslims acquired when they defeated the Visigoths in 711. Córdoba, which becomes King Fines's capital, was fabulously wealthy, and was an outstanding cultural, intellectual and political center until the middle of the eleventh century. Thus, *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, in rewriting history to make this a story of a Muslim convert to Christianity, fictionally reappropriates former Christian territory at the time of the Muslims' most glorious period of occupation in Spain.

As for Naples – or Noples – in the French *Floire et Blancheflor*, I believe this to be a result of contamination by the Charlemagne legend, particularly the lost *Prise de Noples* or the *Chanson de Roland*, where Charlemagne's supposed conquest of Nople (sometimes rendered Noples), a fictional city in Spain, is mentioned twice, once by Charlemagne himself and once by Roland in his enumeration of the conquered cities.²⁹ The Norwegian *Karlamagnússaga*, the oldest foreign version of the *Chanson de Roland* after the Bavarian priest Konrad's *Ruolandesliet* (c. 1170), was translated by Brother Robert for King Hákon Hákonarsson and also refers to Charlemagne's conquest of Noples. Interestingly, in the Old Norse *Flóres saga*

²⁸ Menéndez Pidal says that determining the real Noples or Naples, a name that did not exist in Spain, is a waste of time because there is no proof without the recovery of the lost *Prise de Noples*: it could be imaginary or it could just as easily refer to Noblejas de Toledo, Naval de Huesca, Niebla de Huelva or Novelda de Alicante (151). The Old Norse *Karlamagnússaga* preserves the story of the conquest of Noples, but is no more helpful in determining its geographical location.

²⁹ It is clear that an entire book could be written on the subject of the contamination of *Floire and Blancheflor* and *Berta* by the Charlemagne legend, now that the Spanish Chronicle containing all three stories has come to light. Here, though, I confine my remarks to those that support the specific points I am dealing with, while realizing that there is much additional material to be examined.

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

ok *Blankiflúr* (another of Brother Robert's translated works) Flóres's father is King Felix of "Aples" and one of the kings who gives counsel during the lovers' trial scene is named "Marsíliás," both of which names could derive from names found in the *Chanson de Roland*: Marsile, the Saracen King of Spain who is Charlemagne's arch-enemy, and the aforementioned Naples/Noples.

The popular French version also seems to have material that is derived from other *chansons de geste*. No genealogical material in the opening of the poem relates Floire and Blancheflor to Charlemagne, and with the manuscript of the only extant version ending with Floire's arrival in Babylon it is impossible to know what the poet may have intended to do regarding progeny. Floire's father here, however, is Galerien, the king of "Aumerie." Almería was important for the Christians, beginning with the conquest of that city by King Alfonso VII in 1147, and was celebrated in the Hispano-Latin *Poema de Almería* (composed no later than 1157). A possible analogue to the popular *Floire et Blancheflor* in this regard is *La Prise de Cordres et de Seville*, a *chanson de geste* from the twelfth century.³⁰ Cordres appears in this form in the *Chanson de Roland* as one of the cities Charlemagne conquers, and is the city of Córdoba in Andalusia. The Muslim leader in *La Prise de Cordres* is Galerien or Galerien, King of Aumerie.

When the young Floire falls in love with Blancheflor, his father decides to send him away from her: he chooses, in the aristocratic French, "Montoire," in the popular "Montelieu," in Pal. lat. 1971 "Muntorie," in the anonymous Italian *Cantare* "Montorio," in *Il Filocolo* "Montoro," and in the sixteenth-century Spanish prose romance "Montorio," which shows the latter's Italian derivation. In the Chronicle, the name Montor appears as one of three fortresses belonging to King Fines: "E los castillos: Tarifa e Algezira, e el castillo de Montor" (f. 6ra). Montoro does exist as a place in Andalusia, whereas Montoire, Muntorie, and the others do not exist.

Baudac appears in *Primera crónica general*, and is the name for Baghdad. Baghdad was, in the eighth century, the political and religious center of the caliphate (formerly the caliphate of Damascus), so it makes sense for this to be one of the stops. Geographically, however, it is somewhat odd, since it is 1300 kilometers from Cairo (the Babylon of the work), and farther away from Spain than is Cairo.

³⁰ This *chanson de geste* exists in a single manuscript, housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Texts and Origins

In the Chronicle, however, it is not Baghdad that is located “four days’ journey from Babylon,” as in the aristocratic French version, but a city named Bulvies, which I cannot identify. Interestingly, in the popular French version, the travelers from Spain arrive in “Fusis” (v. 1821), which is ruled by Sanonés, whose son, Diogenés, does battle with, and is defeated by, Floire. The editor, Pelan, cannot identify this city.

“Bulvies” and “Fusis” are not all that alike, although they are not totally dissimilar either. It is at this point in the narrative in both the popular French version and the Chronicle, however, that Floire becomes involved in military skirmishes. The names in the French and Spanish works may be corruptions of the ancient Greek city, Bullis, at one time a Roman colony. Bullis, mentioned in many Latin chronicles, apparently was an important city, but we have no description of its history. There is also, apparently, some confusion about its location, for it is described at times as inland, at other times as an important port.³¹ The popular French version gives no indication of the location of the city, but it is a port city in that version, inland in the Chronicle. Moreover, the name of Floire’s opponent, Diogenés, recalls Greek names more than any others. While all of this is highly speculative, and unfortunately inconclusive, it is conceivable that both the Chronicle and the popular French versions are referring to the Greek port city of Bullis, which would have been a conceivable stop in the journey from Spain to Cairo. If so, then the geography of the Chronicle is muddled, at least in this reference to a place far from Spain.³²

The general conclusion we can draw is that the geography of the aristocratic French tale is perplexing not because it is imaginary or fanciful, but because it derives from more than one tale, while the Chronicle is, Bulvies aside, logical and faithful to the topography of Spain, as well as to its history. Gómez Pérez believed that the story of

³¹ At the time of Pliny it was called Colonia Bullidensis. Both Stephanus and Ptolemy place Bullis on the coast: “Hence Leake supposes, that both Ptolemy and Stephanus may have referred to a . . . maritime establishment of the Bulliones, which at one period may have been of as much importance as the city itself. Accordingly, Leake places on his map two towns of the name of Bullis, the Roman colony of *Gráditzza*, and the maritime city at *Kanína*” (W. Smith 456b). Another city named Bulis is described by Leake as “occupying the summit of a rocky height which slopes on one side towards a small harbour, and is defended in the opposite direction by an immense . . . lofty rock, separated by a torrent from the precipitous acclivities of the Helicon” (Smith 456a). “Baudac” in the French aristocratic version is described in somewhat similar terms to this second Bullis.

³² In this case, neither the Old Norse nor the Middle Dutch is any help, since they refer to Floire’s first stop as Beludátor and Blandas, respectively.

Floire and Blancheflor as Peregrinus

Flores and Blancaflor originated in Spain, and that our Chronicle is, thus far, the earliest witness to that tale. I have found nothing to contradict his opinion.

The final problem to be discussed is simply explained: the tone of the trial scene in the Old Norse tale and *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* and the emphasis on conversion at the end. Given that critics have assumed that the Old Norse version is Brother Robert's seemingly faithful translation from the Old French poem, the problem of the tone of the trial scene and the conversion material at the end has been justified as the one innovative episode in the northern redaction. But, we are left with the interesting fact that the Spanish Chronicle also contains a lengthy trial scene in which the "almirales" reflect rather happily on possible tortures and means of punishment for the lovers, as well as much conversion material at the end. If, as I have already argued, there was an exchange between Spain and Norway during the time of the marriage of Kristín and Philip, then it is entirely possible to explain the additional material as coming from one or the other countries, and not created coincidentally by two separate authors.

CONCLUSION

There were at least two stages of composition of *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*. The chronicle-version as found in BN MS 7583 undoubtedly derives from a more primitive version that circulated in Spain, and that initially had nothing to do with Charlemagne or Berta. When *Flores y Blancaflor* was incorporated into what has become known as BN MS 7583, along with *Berta* and *Mainete*, as part of some of the chapters of *Primera crónica general* that referred to the activities of the Moorish Kings in Spain and those of Alfonso el Católico, the material about the future of France's lineage – that is, that Flores and Blancaflor would be the grandparents of a great Christian king of France – was added to *Flores y Blancaflor*. The European versions that we know were preceded by something very like the Spanish chronicle-version, quite possibly written in French; the material of Christian emphasis was added in Spain, and from there very likely went to Scandinavia.

PART II

The road to conversion

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

In the French and Middle English versions, the events of the narrative proceed linearly; the impediment to the union of Floire and Blancheflor, the pagan/Christian dichotomy, resolves itself at the end with Floire's rather nonchalant conversion. The Chronicle, *Il Filocolo* and, the prose romance develop on a grander scale, with a clearly cyclical – or spiral – view of history from the genealogical information at the beginning of the texts to Floire's ascent to the throne and conversion of his nation to Christianity. The reader senses from the outset that the characters participate in a Divine Plan, which enfolds the reader as well. The Old Norse version falls somewhere between these two groupings; lacking the genealogical power of the opening of *Il Filocolo*, for example, the story compensates for its less religious opening by the tenacity and zeal with which Blankiflúr exacts Flóres's conversion. Fleck's version also falls somewhere in between: cyclical history is not of great importance, although the birth of Flore's and Blanscheflur's daughter, Berthe, "is the gift not merely of God, but of Christ" (T. R. Jackson 23). The story develops as one of evolving and growing Christian love, and the reward of the lovers' moral virtue.

Homiletic, or pious, romances with moral, religious or didactic features often follow one of two story-patterns: the direct intervention of God in the lives of men who are eventually saved, as in *Sir Ysumbras*, *Sir Gowther*, *Robert of Sicily* and *Sir Cleges*, and the story of persecuted women, exemplary in nature, who withstand great tribulation, as in *The Erl of Tolous*, *Le Bone Florence de Rome*, *Octavian* and *Emaré* (Mehl 120–21).

Floire and Blancheflor, from the time of the early French versions and the Chronicle, cultivated the medieval "persecuted heroine" theme – Blancheflor and her mother endure hardships, but the daughter passes through many more stages of suffering than her mother – but the emphasis on Floire as a maturing hero is less a

The road to conversion

feature of the French and Middle English poems than of the two Spanish texts, *Il Filocolo*, the Old Norse and the German tales. This new emphasis reflects the conversion material added to certain versions. If Floire the Saracen is simultaneously to benefit from Divine Intervention and win at love, the most spectacular means to demonstrate this double achievement are the narratively elaborate scenes of conversion and the subsequent conversion, often forced, of the hero's countrymen.¹

When considering religion in *Floire and Blancheflor*, specifically in its aspect of Divine Intervention, the question of magic inevitably arises. Within the genre of medieval romance the marvelous traditionally does not interfere with, or undermine, the workings of God; Providence and magic often co-exist peacefully. A major device for converting the texts of *Floire and Blancheflor* from idyll to religious romance is the transformation of *engin* ("cunning" or "ingenuity") into paradigms of Divine Intervention.² We can see the authorial intention, at times, to emphasize Divine Intervention by reducing the importance of the artifacts of magic, which occasionally seem superfluous to the story, and the formerly expansive examples of *engin*.

The thirteenth century in Europe witnessed a development of literary theory and criticism, as Minnis's work on the twelfth- and thirteenth-century commentary tradition illuminates for us. In the thirteenth century in particular, authors became increasingly interested in, and adept at, the transference and transformation of secular material, especially by pagan authors, into an allegorized form that developed and emphasized moral and specifically Christian elements (*Medieval Theory of Authorship*). Hanning studied the literary phenomenon of *engin* in Old French literature and discovered that the development of *engin* from Latin to Old French permitted "a strong and old tradition for linking together in one word contradictory judgments on witty or ingenious problem-solving behavior and its physical embodiment in artifacts" (*Individual* 107). While this view of *engin* holds true for the texts we are considering, we shall see in addition how the transformation and elaboration of *engin* in *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, *Il Filocolo*, and the Spanish prose romance fit

¹ Fleck, as Jackson tells us, creates a gentle Christian hero, who would not force conversion on his subjects. His work, therefore, lacks some of the crusading zeal found in other versions, and concentrates more on the personal qualities of the two protagonists.

² *Engin* can refer to talent, ruse, fraud, genius, cleverness, ingenuity, *habileté* or *tromperie*. For an elaboration of its importance to medieval literary theory, see Minnis *et al.*, *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c.1100–c.1375: The Commentary Tradition*.

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

larger authorial designs, in keeping with the thirteenth-century growth and awareness of literary composition and theory, and the general tendency towards the Christianization of secular material.

The juxtaposition of mere human ingenuity – *engin* – with Divine Providence brings up another comparison: infidels and Christians. In renouncing his family and upbringing (almost as saints such as Alexis do) to search for Blancheflor, Floire embarks on a love-pilgrimage that serves, in all the cases of the story, as the literal road to his eventual spiritual salvation. To contrast the virtues of Christianity and the pitfalls of paganism, the text must deploy the power of the Saracens, seen most notably in the sheer size and force of their number against the poor little traveling band of pilgrims in the opening of the text, and the two seemingly vulnerable lovers against the wrath and strength of the Emir's kingdom, the infidels' dependence on magic objects and an important feature not only in this story but in medieval literature in general: the reliance on human counsel, on advice, here contrasted with God-inspired actions.³

The texts most likely to expand the conversion material also combine the efficacy of magic objects and Divine Intervention, and expand and examine the reliance on fallible human advice. Human counsel is challenged and defeated by the workings of God when Floire and his country are led on the inexorable path to Christianity, despite all the efforts of his parents to save their country by thwarting the union of their son and the Christian maiden. This chapter will treat three major episodes in the story, with their concomitant features of magic and *engin*: the selling of Blancheflor to the merchants, Floire's quest for access to the tower where Blancheflor is imprisoned, and the trial of the lovers. The most striking examples of Divine Intervention occur in the conversion material at the end of the stories, which will be examined in a later chapter.

In *Floire and Blancheflor* criticism, Geraldine Barnes, Jocelyn Price and Helen Cooper have undertaken to explain the function of *engin* in the Middle English and Old French versions. Cooper concentrates more on the use of magic objects in twelfth-century romances; her

³ The anonymous Mozarabic *Chronicle of 754* attributes the success of Saracen invasions in the seventh century precisely to cunning: "The Saracens rebelled in the era 656 (618), the seventh year of the emperor Heraclius, and appropriated for themselves Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia, more through the trickery than through the power of their leader Muhammed, and devastated the neighbouring provinces, proceeding not so much by means of open attacks as by secret incursions. Thus by means of cunning and fraud, rather than power, they incited all of the frontier cities of the empire" (Wolf 113–14).

The road to conversion

analysis of *Floris and Blancheflor* focuses on the function, or lack thereof, of the ring. Price examines, in the aristocratic French, the Emir's tower and garden as an East-West confrontation – specifically, Western fear of Eastern sensualism – and the incidence of *engin* in the form of adult ruses against unsuspecting children. Floire's retaliatory implementation of ingenuity attempts to preserve the children's alternative world, one of “quasi-prelapsarian security” (14). Barnes's main argument is that *engin* guides and governs the Middle English *Floris*, which is approximately one-third the length of the Old French, while the Old French – not bereft of its share of dupes and double-crossings – nonetheless concerns itself far more with beautiful descriptions and effusions of sentiment. The Middle English highlights the episodes of cunning and ingenuity and “love plays the supporting role to *gin* and *engin* [...]” The result is a distinctive version of the romance which inclines neither to the sentimental nor to the pious but rather to an entertaining account of an extended exercise in wit and ingenuity” (“Cunning and Ingenuity” 13). The Middle English abridges descriptive passages found in the Old French to focus on *red*, (‘advice,’ ‘plan,’ ‘counsel’), the loan-word *counseil*, which is used interchangeably with *red*, and the exercise of *engin*. Except for a few remarks by Cooper about the function of magic and the role of the pagan gods in *Il Filocolo*, nothing has been said on the topic of *engin* and counsel in the Southern versions, nor is there any study of Divine Intervention in any version.⁴

Within the main narrative divisions that this chapter examines, certain episodes stand out in their treatment of *engin*, advice and Divine Intervention. In the first division, the events leading up to the selling of Blancheflor into slavery and Floire's determination to rescue her, the machinations of King Felix and the Queen to rid themselves of Blancheflor, especially the invention of the elaborately ornamented false tomb, the bestowal of the magic ring, and the ornate, jewel-encrusted cup given to King Felix by the slave traders are the most prominent features. The second division contains two of the most widely discussed features of the romance, Floire as chess-player and the basket-incident. The third division, the discovery of the lovers *in flagrante delicto* in the Emir's palace and their subsequent trial, will show how Divine Intervention is always working, often unseen and unnoticed, but always propelling the events to the

⁴ The closest to this kind of study is T. R. Jackson's article, “Religion and Love in *Flore und Blanscheflur*,” but he does not treat the topics of advice or divine intervention.

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

conclusion that the Christian God triumphs over the most careful, clever and evil human designs.

THE SELLING OF BLANCHEFLOR

We are meant to compare the two sets of parents: while both are noble, each is motivated by opposing impulses and reliance on incompatible forms of authority – God versus human plans. The story of Blanche-flor's parents ends relatively quickly compared with the convoluted tale of the plans and actions of Floire's parents. Blanche-flor's parents' pilgrimage results from a heartfelt commitment to their vow to honor Saint James should they be granted the child they so desired. They listen to God's voice through prayer and are the recipients of dream-visions. Floire's parents, on the other hand, think they exercise good judgment when they seek to resolve their son's obsession with Blanche-flor, an obsession that they disapprove of in the Chronicle and the *Filocolo*, and, with apt foreshadowing, fear will destroy their family and nation in the prose romance. With the machinations of Floire's parents to separate their son from the Christian captive, the network of events impelled by *engin* begins.

All versions agree that the King accepts the advice of the Queen to send Floire away from the court to Montoro. One of the first examples of Floire's ability to confound his parents' designs occurs in the popular French, the *Cantare*, *Filocolo* and the prose romance when he learns that Blanche-flor is to be burned at the stake for the attempted murder of his father with a poisoned fowl. This is, in fact, an elaborate deception engineered by the King and his seneschal, an episode absent from the aristocratic French, Palatine fragment, Chronicle, Middle English and Old Norse versions. Floire senses Blanche-flor's danger when the magic ring she gave him loses its brilliant color in three of the above versions; in the popular French poem Floire learns by conventional means – a messenger – that Blanche-flor has been condemned to death.

The *Cantare* and the Spanish prose romance refer simply to the ring's properties – it changes color when the owner is in danger – and to the poisoned chicken that was fed to a dog without elaborating the details or contributing to the mounting suspense that marks the Boccaccian narrative.

In the popular French version, Floire prepares to do combat to save Blanche-flor, while Blanche-flor prays for salvation. Here, battles

receive more emphasis than religion, but it is safe to say that the concept of battle falls within the framework of the controversies between pagans and Christians, where combat is divinely ordained. In this particular version, then, the presence of a prayer does not signal so much an increase in religious fervor as the kind of customary oration found in epic in general, such as Jimena's prayer in *Poema de mio Çid*. The *Cantare* replicates this kind of epic prayer when Biancifiore, citing the examples of the resuscitated Lazarus and the repentant Mary Magdalene, prays for deliverance from the cruel sentence imposed on her by the malevolent seneschal.

The Spanish prose romance includes the episode of the false accusation of Blancaflor and the poisoned fowl and Flores's subsequent participation – incognito – in a joust to save his beloved's life, but the description is sparse compared to the richly elaborated Boccaccian narrative. The major difference in this version is that the scheme of the poisoned chicken is King Felix's idea, not the seneschal's as it is elsewhere, and is used to underscore the unscrupulousness of the ruler. It is a touch that is inspired, perhaps, by Boccaccio's treatment of the episode in which, as we will see, the King's courtiers consent to wrongdoing out of fear of the king and knowledge of his injudicious nature. As in the *Cantare*, Blancaflor does pray when tied to the stake, but it is not an epic prayer: only God and Jesus Christ are invoked and then only briefly (l. 62).

The sections of the *Filocolo* devoted to Florio's banishment to Montoro and Biancifiore's life-threatening situations require special examination, since they differ so much from any other version of the story while remaining within the general framework found in the popular French poem and the *Cantare*. Boccaccio makes the most of these episodes, devoting many pages to the history of the vermilion ring (an heirloom that first belonged to Scipio Africanus, who gave it to Lelio, Biancifiore's father), the sumptuous banquet and the roast peacock fattened with poisonous juices, and the proceedings of Biancifiore's trial. Of all the versions, Boccaccio's is the most politically motivated and the most obviously interested in portraying faithfully a court tribunal.

Boccaccio expands the narrative feature of *conseil*, described by Barnes as an important element in the aristocratic French and Middle English versions, first of all in order to link *conseil* and *engin* to the concept of the intervention of the gods in the lives of the characters, and secondly to juxtapose scenes of councils and counsel by divine

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

tribunals and earthly ones, perhaps inspired by Marsilius's infernal council at the opening of the *Chanson de Roland*. Boccaccio weaves an intricate pattern of human and divine counsel and the seeming *engin* or cunning that appears to be associated with these tribunals. Depending on motive – quite simply, right versus wrong – councils are shown to succeed or fail, to provide good advice or bad. What occurs in the Chronicle and many other versions occurs in the *Filocolo* as well: counsel that appears to be good advice may work for a time, but ultimately founders in the face of God or in the face of a more principled, abstract right.

For example, early in Book One, when Lelio, Giulia and their followers, inspired by the vision of Saint James and the reality of Giulia's pregnancy (the answer to their prayers), embark on the pilgrimage to Compostela to honor the saint, Satan plans to thwart them and "calling the infernal ministers into his presence," he determines to avenge himself and his group by tricking Christianity's followers into error: "We have *cunningly* distracted them and turned their steps toward our realms [...] It behooves us to expand our own realm by *guile*, and try to regain what was lost in the past" (I:9 [emphasis mine]). The gods, the evil powers and the characters all exhibit elements of cunning and guile in their endeavors, but it is motivation that determines the outcome. Nonetheless, we will see that Boccaccio's treatment of the gods and the power of Christianity is not without its ironic manifestations.

The scenes of King Felix's attempts to rid himself of Biancifiore and Florio's jousts in order to save her have great resonance in Boccaccio's tale, for they close Book Two, and many elements of these scenes return later in the story, especially in the trial of the lovers, to be discussed further on in this chapter. Similarly, the scenes recall earlier events, as we will see, for King Felix's machinations to bring about Biancifiore's death and his maneuvering of his council of advisors in order to do so are reminiscent of the evil Satan (Pluto) in the opening chapters of the book, who was so bent on the destruction of the band of pilgrims to the tomb of Saint James of Compostela.

While the King, with Massamutino (who, we learn, acts out of revenge for Biancifiore's having spurned him as a lover) carries out his plot to falsely accuse Biancifiore of trying to murder the sovereign, Florio languishes in Montoro. The banquet during which the peacock is served represents a faithful recreation of such a feast in Boccaccio's time. Specifically, the vows of the peacock, a long-standing tradition

The road to conversion

in medieval times, were very seriously regarded indeed.⁵ Since this entire scene is so true to life and because the King rather blithely ignores the solemnity of the occasion, it seems Boccaccio is levelling a criticism at a fairly contemporary political situation (see Chapter Three). The King swears before Jove, “for love of this present peacock,” to marry Biancifiore to one of his principal barons (II:35). Subsequent noblemen – Parmenione, Ascalion, Messaallino, Duke Ferramonte, Sara and Menedon – make various pledges regarding their roles as attendants and celebrants on her wedding day. The Queen, who has coached Biancifiore in the proper manner of speech in which to solicit vows to the peacock from the men, sums up: “Well may you rejoice [that such noblemen] have all pledged themselves to your honor and pleasure” (II:35).

The narrator has already shown that the Queen’s words unintentionally prophesy what will indeed come to pass. When Biancifiore’s mother dies soon after giving birth to her daughter, the Queen promises the infant: “You will be constantly a dear companion and kin to my son.” The narrator sets the tone for the Queen’s subsequent role as ironic speechmaker: “Many times in the future the queen was to weep over these words, which her prophetic spirit had made her speak in ignorance” (I:42). These remarks, and, even more profoundly, those following the barons’ pledges to the peacock, come full circle when many of the barons are present later in the Admiral’s realm to carry out their pledges, and the “principal baron” turns out to be none other than the King’s son.

Having thrown Biancifiore in prison to await sentence, King Felix moves to bring about a consensus in his council. Boccaccio here juxtaposes the “wicked council” (II:39) of the human king with the earlier council of “infernal ministers” of Pluto (Satan), whose wicked ministrations caused the deaths of many good people and the captivity of the saintly Giulia.

⁵ For bibliography on the tradition, see Blumenfeld-Kosinski (“The Poetics of Continuation”). Only in Boccaccio does the poisoned fowl turn out to be a peacock (as Quaglio noted in his edition, n7: 778), and it is the only version in which vows are sworn. In Spain the only known reference to any version of *Voeux du Paon* can be found in the Marqués de Santillana’s treatise on prosody and genre in fifteenth-century Castile, *Prohemios y cartas* (1446?), in which he praises the authors of France and Italy for their poetic innovations. He says: “Entre nosotros usose primeramente el metro en assaz formas; asy como el *Libro de Alexandre*, *Los votos del Pavon*, e aun el *Libro del Arcipreste de Hita*” (91). Because *Los votos del Pavon* is included along with two Spanish works, we can assume that Santillana refers to a Spanish version of the vows of the peacock. However, there are no known versions extant.

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

A student of canon law, Boccaccio exhibits a great interest in both judicial proceedings and religious matters. In a depiction that appears to parallel court procedure in Boccaccio's time, the King's council resists passing sentence without first hearing the confession of the accused:

Mightiest lord, no person can be judged by us, if that person whom we are to judge does not first confess within our hearing and with his own lips the crime for which our judgment is called [...] And if you wish to do this thing according to the rule of law, as you say, [...] it is necessary that you have us hear from her as to whether she has committed this crime; for we are concerned lest the sentence should be turned against our heads if the proper procedure is not followed. (II:51)

The council shows itself to be weak and powerless in the face of the King's will; specifically, the Duke and Ascalion, who have knowledge of Biancifiore's innocence, maintain silence out of fear of the King. The narrator informs us that many wished to speak on behalf of Biancifiore, "but by their silence, astonished by this affair, they gave a gesture of consent to the speech of the seneschal [who had called for a sentence of death as he judged Biancifiore's guilt to be obvious], although many were immeasurably displeased to know that Biancifiore was in prison and could not speak to defend herself" (II:39).

Meanwhile, Biancifiore implores the gods to help her. Calling on Venus, she is startled by the appearance in the cell of the revered deity, who promises deliverance from evil (II:48); and she continues to pray to other deities, including Juno and Jove (II:53). This represents Boccaccio's conscious transformation of Christian material into a more complicated tapestry of the roles of the pagan and Christian gods. Before the discovery of the Spanish Chronicle, it seemed quite clear that all the material beyond the scope of the *Cantare* and the French versions was Boccaccio's invention. The Spanish Chronicle may have been known to Boccaccio; certainly the points of contact between the Chronicle and the *Filocolo* cannot be mere coincidence. While an awareness of the Chronicle reduces the number of episodes "invented" by Boccaccio, it also serves to underscore those episodes and features that Boccaccio transforms. And, while Boccaccio is clearly not the first to "Christianize" the tale, that fact in no way diminishes the complexity of the narrative structure that he does create, namely, the conflict, juxtaposition and interplay

The road to conversion

of pagan and Christian gods. He renders this narrative in the manner of a chronicle, or, to borrow Clover's designation for medieval Icelandic sagas, through simultaneity: Boccaccio moves back and forth rapidly between Florio's reactions to the predictions, Biancifiore's reactions and prayers, the King's and Queen's uncertainty about what they have started, and the opposing reactions of the people of the realm.

Florio, maintaining a disguise, overpowers the seneschal in a joust, and exacts a partial confession from him, in exchange for his life. As we see throughout the text, guile in the service of a higher truth is condoned, as it is in romance in general (Frye). Florio tricks the seneschal by holding out the promise of mercy if he confesses. When the traitor reveals the story of the poisoned peacock, concealing from the audience the King's participation in the evil deed, the god Mars shouts, with a voice heard only by Florio, that the man deserves death. Florio therefore immediately rescinds his promise and complies with the command of the voice (II:68-70). Book Two closes with the still-disguised Florio's return to Montoro where great honors and sacrifices are conducted at the altars of Venus in her temple, and, simultaneously, with Biancifiore's return to the palace.

As mentioned earlier, in the Chronicle, Old French, Middle English and Old Norse versions, all these episodes are absent; the only ring with magical properties belongs to the Queen. Most versions, therefore, proceed directly from Floire's banishment to Montoire to the selling of Blancheflor and the creation of the false tomb. The tomb in the Old French poem is constructed "par engien" (l.860), with great artifice. To conceive of the idea of the tomb exemplifies *engin*, but "[e]ngin can also refer to wondrous feats of art and engineering produced by this ability" (Barnes, "Cunning and Ingenuity" 13): thus the empty tomb doubles its significance. The Chronicle repeats almost obsessively the word "consejo" ("advice") in connection with these decisions by the King and Queen, to underscore the difference between good and bad human advice and the difference between reliance on prayer and on human counsel. For example, as the artisans practice their craft they are "tan sotiles" ("so subtle") and the tomb itself contains details that are "fermosos e sotilmente obrados" ("beautiful and subtly rendered"), including life-size figures of Flores and Blancaflor carrying flowers and wearing jewel-encrusted gold crowns (f. 13vb-14ra). This is a concrete manifestation of *engin*. The tomb came to be constructed, however, "por consejo dela reyna [quien]

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

mando labrar vn monumento mucho estranno” (“by counsel of the Queen [who] ordered them to build a very rare monument”) (f. 13vb). This differs from the Middle English interplay of *engin* and *conseil* in that the artifacts in the Chronicle may be examples of *engin*, but the motivations for these acts seem always to be the result of someone having offered or taken judicious “consejo.”

The tomb, one of the most elaborate and lyrical descriptions in the Old French and Middle English poems, is notably absent from the prose romance and barely described in the *Filocolo*. In the prose romance, Flores doubts that Blancaflor has died, because the ring once again has changed color, signifying that Blancaflor is in peril. He calmly asks his mother to lead him to her sepulchre, which, of course, she cannot do. For his part, Boccaccio emphasizes the King’s motives rather than the cunning of the object itself:

[H]e secretly sent for many artisans and commanded that without delay a handsome tomb should be made of inlaid marble, alongside that of Giulia [...] And he did this with such *cunning* [emphasis mine] that there was no one in the city who did not firmly believe that Biancifiore was dead, except for those who were the king’s confidants in this scheme. (III:57)

Given Boccaccio’s capacity for expanding rich descriptions into even more lavish ones, it is surprising that the tomb, one of the richest passages in the Old French and Middle English poems, should be passed over so quickly. On the other hand, if the Boccaccian narrative derives from an earlier Italian source or from the Chronicle, in which the tomb plays a small role, then it is not so surprising.

In spite of the sparse amount of description dedicated to the tomb, Boccaccio does not fail to take advantage of the gold cup. In all the versions of the story that include the tomb and the cup, we can say that the significance of the objects is deflected from evil intentions – from the intention to deceive Floire in one case, and in the second case as a base exchange for the beautiful Blanche-flor – to very different consequences. *Il Filocolo* most intricately demonstrates this. The very crafting of the cup is described as a cunning feat: “They [the slave traders] gave him a rich gold cup, on the leg and foot of which the whole destruction of Troy had been enameled with *very cunning skill*, so that it was most precious for its artistry and beauty” (III: 45 [emphasis mine]). The possession of the cup results from the King’s guile; far from the King’s intentions, the cup and Florio embark on a journey that will save Biancifiore. As will be discussed in Chapter

Four, the cup has both thematic and narrative significance: its depiction of Troy destroyed recalls the abduction of Helen and presages both the destruction of the Saracen nation, when Florio later converts and inherits his father's kingdom, and the impending destruction of the enclosed world of the Admiral. Moreover, the cup, designed with cunning, becomes an object of guile: by tricking the Castellan of the tower in chess games – with the promise of possession of the cup as a reward – Florio transforms the cup from the symbol of Biancifiore's degradation into the key to her liberation from the tower (IV:87).

The workings of the Christian God – beginning with the divine plan of the pilgrimage of Biancifiore's parents – function in a complex way with the movements of the pagan deities in the text. The two religious systems function in tandem as well as independently of each other. At times, Boccaccio appears to be equating the will and wishes of the pagan gods with those of the Christian God. The triumph of Christianity at the end – the acceptance of one system over another by the major characters – does not completely invalidate the other system. H. A. Kelly, among others, noticed the blithe abandonment of the pagan gods at the end of the *Filocolo*, but attributed it to Boccaccio's having needed the pagan gods to move the narrative forward and to the necessity to ignore them at the end in order to demonstrate Christianity's superiority (220–24). Robert Hollander, in a recent reversal of an earlier opinion, considers Boccaccio's last fictional work, *Il Corbaccio*, to be less Christian than he and others had assessed it to be (*Last Fiction* 25). He concludes that Boccaccio's ironic stance is probably present in other earlier writings and not just in the later ones, such as the *Decameron*. That being the case, the interweaving of the pagan gods and Christianity with human and divine love in the *Filocolo* may represent a similar irony.

The moment of leave-taking, which separates two of the major movements of *Floire and Blancheflor* (that is, life at the court of his father and the search for, and reunion with, Blancheflor) opens the path for the kinds of generic impulses that each of the major texts embraces. For example, in the prose romance Flores clearly denounces his father for what he has done, and the former's departure from the court is a definite renunciation of that world, much as the lives of the saints often require a separation from family. On a fundamental level, *Flores y Blancaflor* differs from hagiographic writings in that the hero renounces his family in order to search for the woman he loves, but when we recall that the quest for and attainment of Blancaflor as a wife

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

is inextricably fused in the text with Flores's spiritual redemption through conversion and the conversion of his nation, then it is not so very different from hagiography after all.

Both the Chronicle and the *Filocolo* depict Floire's departure in the mode of an epic quest. In both cases, the actions of his family against Blancheflor anger the hero, but his departure is filled with requests for his father's blessing and material aid. Not completely dissimilar from a romance quest, these depictions tend towards epic because both remind the reader that the fate of the nation hangs in the balance; King Felix fears for his son and for the future of his country should his son not return from his quest. Again, when we consider that, unbeknownst to any of the characters, Floire's quest sets in motion the events that will lead to a spiritual founding of a nation, if not a literal founding, the story resembles the narrative designs of epic. The motif of pilgrimage – and, for Florio, the spiritual quality of his undertaking – is underscored in *Il Filocolo* because Florio states unequivocally that his quest is, in fact, a pilgrimage: "Now you have sold her and sent her to distant regions, so that I must go on a pilgrimage through the world" (III:65).

Changing his name in order to protect himself in hostile territories (his father may have either friends or enemies who would thwart Florio's plans) and to reflect his condition (he says that the new name means "labor of love"), the pilgrim of love, Filocolo, sets out on his journey. But in whose honor (other than Biancifiore's) is the pilgrimage conducted? Florio (who, we can see, is an unwitting Christian pilgrim) believes himself to be, in fact, a pilgrim of love dedicated to the goddess Venus, under whose protection he and Biancifiore have found themselves before. This narrative moment of Florio's departure closes Book Three of the work and puts into ironic conflict the workings of the Christian God and the pagan deities, all of whose divine plans appear to be served by this pilgrimage.

BLANCHEFLOR IN THE TOWER

Floire determinedly journeys to find Blancheflor; most versions move from the departure from his father's court to an inn, where Floire learns by chance that Blancheflor has passed through on her way to Babylon. The aristocratic French and Middle English versions and *Il Filocolo* comment on the strong physical resemblance between Floire and Blancheflor; in the *Filocolo*, Florio pretends to be Biancifiore's

The road to conversion

brother, thus explaining to the curious woman who recognizes him why he is searching for Biancifiore. In the Chronicle, Gaydon and Gandifer counsel Flores to contact his relatives, who are, after all, Moorish kings; in so doing, he finds himself introduced to the caliph, "el galifa," which "quiere tanto dezir commo apostoligo delos moros" (f. 18ra) ("which means he is like a pope [or chief priest] of the Moors"). This version alone offers an interlude in which Flores liberates the King of Babilonia, who is subject to the caliph, and at the same time secures from the caliph a pardon for the King. This episode will mark a turning point for Flores later in the work. Most of this section of the tale, in all the versions (with the exception of the *Filocolo*, which adds its own interlude of dream-visions, treacherous sea voyages, and the Questions of Love) deals with the garden and tower of the Admiral, and Floire's successful duping of the porter in chess games and his subsequent entrance into the supposedly impenetrable fortress.

The concept of the garden is a multi-faceted one that requires exploration in the chapters on time and space and on reading, writing and storytelling. In this section, we will be concerned primarily with the ways in which the garden lends itself to feats of *engin*, is the setting for counsel, and provides additional proof that God – or the gods – are always working.

Descriptions of nature are almost totally lacking in the Chronicle, except for some details about the moats that surround the King of Babilonia's tower of maidens. Even the Tree of Love, a staple in all other versions of the legend, is not in the Chronicle. While the scene of Flores entering the tower in a basket of flowers does occur, the revenge strategy of draping the lovers from the tower window is absent.

Il Filocolo makes use of the garden for a variety of purposes; however, those that appear in the work differ somewhat from the ones in the Old French poem.⁶ The ideal landscape *par excellence* is the setting for what is probably the best-known section of *Filocolo*, that of Fiammetta and the Questions of Love; although this can be seen as an example of verbal skill and wit, it is best examined in the next chapter. In Boccaccio's work, the two gardens that relate directly to the story of the lovers are the Duke's garden at Montoro and the Admiral's garden located at the top of the tower where Biancifiore is

⁶ The garden as implied text will be discussed in Chapter Three, "Signs, Wonders and the Telling of the Tale"; the function of the gardens as thematic and structural linking device will be treated in Chapter Four, "Routes of Conversion: Time and Space."

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

imprisoned. Boccaccio juxtaposes these gardens and what transpires in them.

The Duke and Ascalion engage two beautiful, seductive maidens to tempt Florio into betraying Biancifiore's love by falling in love with them instead. Unbeknownst to them, Florio has recently witnessed in that very garden a tender, young, white flower clinging desperately to life amidst the brambles that threaten to overwhelm it. Not surprisingly, Florio thoughtfully equates the flower with his own Biancifiore's situation in his father's house. The maidens playfully seduce him and "after going on this way for quite some time, they had brought him to the point, and he them, that only shame kept them from arriving at the ultimate goal that one can desire of a woman" (III:11). Florio, inspired by Love, refrains from further action. This garden, then, functions as the setting for the Duke's and Ascalion's scheme to sway Florio away from Biancifiore, as a scene of Divine Intervention (at least by the pagan god of love), and as a thematic and spiritual juxtaposition to the Admiral's garden, his test of the maidens' virginity and Biancifiore's comportment while in his realm.

The attempted seduction of Florio does occur in different versions, but the garden imagery is greatly expanded here, and the episode of the white flower among the thorns is completely original to Boccaccio. The stratagem of the Admiral's search for a wife, on the other hand – the ever-blooming Tree of Love that is the product of *engin* – occurs in all the versions except the Chronicle, although details differ. As the maidens pass beneath the tree, a flower falls upon the one who will be the King's or the Admiral's latest wife; the reader knows, however, that the Admiral has rigged a device to fall on the maiden of his choice.

Whereas Florio maintains his fidelity to one woman – Biancifiore – albeit by a thread, the Admiral uses his garden setting to possess sexually as many women as possible through the years (although the Chronicle refers specifically to the events of the tower and not a garden or Tree of Love, the text states that the King of Babilonia had sixty "wives" at the time that he decided to marry Blancaflor). Again, while Florio plays seductively with the maidens in the Duke's garden, Biancifiore remains steadfastly loyal and faithful to Florio.

One of the most widely discussed episodes of *Floire and Blancheflor* is the chess game in which Floire defeats the guardian of the tower (who then must help the lover penetrate the supposedly impregnable fortress) and the subsequent entry into the tower in the basket of flowers. For Reiss, the garden of the Emir, an example of

the intentionally religious overtones of the Middle English *Floris and Blancheflour*, is a prelapsarian world (345) where the lovers are reunited. The game of chess between Floris and the porter is more than an example of *engin*: it prefigures the contest between Floris and the Emir “known in medieval Christian anagogy as the land of eternal death or hell” (Reiss 343). More than any other game in Medieval Europe, chess appears to be the one “to have given rise to all sorts of connotations and symbolic interpretations,” at times referring to the evil city of Babylon, at other times to love and amorous pursuits, and at still other times, especially in Arthurian romances, to magic and the supernatural (Reiss 346–48). By playing chess in Babylon, therefore, Floris is, in effect, ritualistically enacting a descent into hell, that is, his entry into the tower where Blancheflour is held captive; and his descent is actually an ascent to the top of the tower. Reiss, then, would regard Floris’s success after three days of play as symbolic of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and not specifically the result of Divine Intervention as is the case in the Chronicle and, to a lesser extent, in the *Filocolo*.

Instead of religious allegory, however, Wentersdorf finds in the chess game “an extended allegory for a lover’s formal courtship of his fair mistress” (82) such as can be found in the fourteenth-century *Les Eschecs amoureux* and in Chaucer. Wentersdorf opposes Reiss’s arguments in favor of a more secular interpretation, marshaling convincing evidence to demonstrate the work’s emphasis on eroticism. The two critics’ opinions are diametrically opposed, and both are quite convincing. The correct interpretation is, I think, one that recognizes the ambiguity of the work that results from tonal differences: it is not that Reiss is wrong to see pervasive religious allegory, for the images he chooses to discuss do, in fact, contain a religious component. Wentersdorf, on the other hand, redirects our critical focus to the secular – specifically, erotic – aspects of the work, while admitting that a multi-level allegory is not out of the question (96). What Reiss finds are, in fact, examples of what I termed earlier the hagiographic potential of the tale, those qualities that permitted Boccaccio or the creators of the Greek and Spanish prose romances to develop very easily such features as pilgrimage and conversion. The Middle English and Old French versions do not intend to highlight the religious quality of the narrative components, but it is a mistake to deny their presence in the work. Moreover, if, in fact, the “third strain” as represented by the Chronicle indicates a version of *Floire*

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

and *Blancheflor* that predates the two French versions, this supports a view more along the lines of Wentersdorf than of Reiss, for the redactors of those versions surely played down, modified or even eliminated the religious overtones of the work.

In the Chronicle, even though God's intervention occurs frequently, the chess scene results completely from human subtlety. Shortly before Daytes (Dario or Darius in other versions) suggests the chess stratagem to him, Flores carries on an internal struggle, telling himself that he should not fear death in trying to rescue Blancaflor because "si lo yo bien siguiese commo lo he comenzado, bien fio por Dios que lo acabare" (f. 22rb) ("if I continue well in what I have begun, I well trust in God that I will finish it"). But rather than await any kind of Divine Intervention, Flores decides that the deceptions of his parents have given him license to devise his own: "trabajar me deuo de pensar engannos, e artes e todas las cosas, porque se me pueda guisar de acabar esto que he comenzado e que mucho deseo ver" (f. 22va) ("I must work to think up deceptions, and ruses and all kinds of things, so that they may help me end all this, which I began, and which I very much want to see").⁷

Daytes counsels Flores on the tower porter's fondness for dice and chess games. Flores learns that Blancaflor has inspired the King to forthcoming monogamy, which occurs in the aristocratic French and Middle English versions as well.⁸ Flores outwits the porter by deliberately losing to him after three days' play – re-enacting a kind of death and resurrection – and the porter agrees to help him. The versions differ: in most of them Floire is hidden in a basket, covered with flowers, and carried up to the room at the top of the tower where Blancheflor and the other maidens are imprisoned. In the *Filocolo*, he is hoisted through a window. The *Cantare* terminates before that point, and the Spanish prose romance is not completely

⁷ The aristocratic French poem and Fleck's Middle High German work render this as an allegorical battle between Love and Reason; most of the other versions change the allegory to be Floire's own internal struggle. The Old Norse version has a very similar speech to Flores's in the Chronicle. Even *Il Filocolo* maintains the episode as Filocolo's internal struggle, but the hero resolves to act in the name of love, and not for religious reasons or because he believes that he has God's help in the matter.

⁸ Interestingly, Fleck, who is concerned with the spiritual life of the lovers, is less concerned with the overall question of conversion. In Fleck's version, the Admiral has had sixty wives and intends to add Blancheflor to the number, and behead her after one year. The point is that all other versions emphasize that Blancheflor is unique in her goodness and beauty, and even in the works that are not overtly religious, she inspires marriage, not lust. Yet, here, where it would be expected that the Admiral would want to marry Blancheflor, Fleck leaves out that detail completely.

The road to conversion

clear on whether Flores is pulled up by someone within the tower or brought up the stairs by someone, although the fact that the "capitán" leaves the tower and then orders that the basket of flowers be raised suggests that the basket goes up on a pulley.

Il Filocolo resembles the Chronicle in certain developments about the tower, the porter and the chess game, although, like so many of the other episodes, this one is greatly expanded. In keeping with Boccaccio's emphasis on formal councils, several people offer advice on how to enter the tower, and Boccaccio refers to the proceedings as a "long council" (IV:87). They decide that ingenuity is in order: "it seems best to win the friendship of the Castellan, with guile, since there can be no danger in doing that and perhaps once we have done it it may be of help, if we deal shrewdly with him." One similarity to the Chronicle is that these are the only two works to specify that the Admiral is subject to another ruler: in the *Filocolo* it is "the mighty ruler of Babilonia" (IV:84), and in the Chronicle the King of Babylon, who has imprisoned Blancaflor, is subject to the caliph. Another is in Filocolo's fear of death before rescuing Biancifiore, the internal struggle described above. In the *Filocolo* it is not the hero's belief that one God will help him prevail that gives him comfort, but his conviction that he must proceed to risk his life because he is a lover and that is what lovers do. As in the Chronicle, however, he realizes that he must resort to *engin*: "I shall seek her with all my wit and all my force; may the gods help me, for I put myself in their hands" (IV:89).

Sadoc, the Castellan, starts to attack Filocolo, but stops when he hears the young man's voice and is struck by the resemblance to Biancifiore. This momentary diversion gives Filocolo the opportunity to inquire about the Castellan's fondness for chess, and in the ensuing games Filocolo deliberately loses to his opponent, thereby securing the favor of the Castellan, who offers to help Filocolo. Just prior to explaining what it is that he will ask of the Castellan, Filocolo hesitates several times and finally is impelled to make his request when he remembers the advice of Ovid: "[He] by chance recalled a verse he had once read in Ovid, where the author chides fearful men by saying, 'Fortune aids the bold, and refuses the timid'" (IV:101).

Cunning, wit, ingenuity and guile all create the fabric of *Il Filocolo*; there is rarely a time when *engin* or *gin*, in one of its manifestations, is not at play in the text. After Filocolo makes his request, Sadoc muses that "This fellow has indeed brought me with his subtle wiles to a point to which I never believed anybody would bring me" (IV:104).

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

Responding, then, to Filocolo's request, Sadoc tells him: "Filocolo, with your subtle arts you have frustrated my plans" (IV:103). This particular scene – which will be discussed more fully in Chapter Four – demonstrates Boccaccio's intention to weave many threads together, especially the idea of pilgrimage as journey, physical desire, spiritual desire, the questions of truth and duplicity, the importance of counsel, the place of wit, and the role of forces that oppose a legitimate desire.

There is a clever play of sexuality and the lushness of flowers when Claris discovers Floire in the basket of flowers. It is, in a sense, the culmination of the pervasive association of flowers and love throughout the entire text, as Calin has demonstrated. The degree to which the texts play with the inherent sexuality of the scene differs, however. In the Middle English and two French versions, Claris reaches into the basket of flowers and is startled to feel a human being, but, dissembling in order to protect the person she assumes must be Floire, cries out that a butterfly flew out and frightened her. Wentersdorf documents other examples of the butterfly as erotic symbol (90–94), while Reiss argues (less convincingly) that the butterfly is a conscious use of a symbol for Christ and Floris is, therefore, a Christ-figure (344–45; 349). Wentersdorf provides, moreover, examples from other works, including the highly influential *Roman de la Rose*, as evidence of the prevalent association of flowers and sexual passion.

In the Chronicle, Blancaflor is the one to reach into the basket, and the discovery of Flores causes her to cry out. She feigns that a bumblebee ("an auejon" [f. 26vb]) has flown out, striking her in the face. Gloris puns that Blancaflor must "know these flowers" and that it is obvious that "esta flor que ha grand virtud en si que asi vos guarescio" (f. 27rb) ("this flower has great virtue, since it so protected you"). Both Reiss and Wentersdorf comment that it is unusual to find in the medieval period this association between man and flower – that is, Claris's question to Blancaflor about "knowing this flower," which occurs in the aristocratic French and Middle English poems as well as the Chronicle – but Wentersdorf attributes its presence to the author's knowledge of ancient Greek legends, such as Narcissus and Hyacinth, in which young men are turned into flowers (94–95). Thus, we see that the Chronicle follows the aristocratic French and Middle English tales in reproducing Claris' image of "knowing the flowers," but it alone employs a bumblebee.⁹ Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*

⁹ As we saw in Chapter One, Diederich's is the only other version in which Blancheflor, rather than Claris, is struck in the face. In Diederich's version, a bird flies out of the basket, as it does

The road to conversion

(12.8.1) discusses the appropriateness of bees as a symbol of royal power, saying that bees, too, have kings and armies. It is possible that the bee in the Chronicle foreshadows Flores's military victories, as the bee did for Wamba (672–80), one of the most important Visigothic Kings of Spain (Wolf 159–60).

Filocolo provides the most extended exposition of this scene. Glorizia reaches into the basket and, just as Blancaflor does in the Chronicle, claims that a bird has struck her in the face. A convoluted deception ensues when Glorizia, recognizing and agreeing to hide Filocolo, regales Biancifiore with reports of the vision she claims to have had of Florio, and Filocolo spies on the maidens, hoping to hear words of love from Biancifiore before he reveals himself to her. Boccaccio does not play with the image of “knowing the flowers,” but this is because of his desire to expand the scene rather than a lack of knowledge of any version containing that particular image. The image hinges on the moment – that is, Blancheflor will almost immediately recognize who is in the basket along with the flowers – whereas Boccaccio chooses to delay by several chapters the reunion of the lovers, at which point the question of “knowing the flowers” would be totally irrelevant.

THE JUDGMENT OF THE LOVERS

Clarís tries to protect Floire and Blancheflor from discovery by the Admiral, but he enters the bedchamber and finds the lovers asleep. In all the versions, he draws his sword and the lovers escape immediate harm, but the reasons for their escape differ. In the Middle English and aristocratic French tales, the Admiral simply shows them some mercy until they can be tried. The southern versions all attribute the Admiral's restraint to an act of intervention.

The narrator of *Il Filocolo*, a work that, while Christian in ending, highlights the active participation of pagan deities in all the events, attributes to Venus (and not for the first time) the saving of Florio and Biancifiore:

[H]e drew out his sharp sword and raised his arm to strike them; but Venus, hidden in her light, stood there and did not permit such an evil, but put herself in the way and received the cruel blow on

in the *Filocolo*, the Spanish prose romance and the Italian *Cantare*. In other versions it is a butterfly.

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

her invulnerable body ... and so they were not at all harmed. And the Admiral suddenly changed his mind, thinking it a base gesture to kill two sleeping persons, or befoul his sword with their vile blood (IV:126)

Similarly, in the Chronicle, the King of Babilonia is forced to spare the lovers: "Mas Dios, que sienpre acorre alos cuytados, acorrio alli aestos dos enamorados porque ellos e otros que viniesen despues dellos lo serviesen e loasen su nonbre e metio al Rey en voluntad que los non matase" (f. 29rb). ("But God, who always aids the unfortunate, aided these two lovers here in order that they, and those who follow them, might serve him and praise his name, and He put the King in a frame of mind not to kill them").

The juxtaposition of these two scenes, one from *Il Filocolo* and one from the Chronicle, affords us the opportunity to determine where Boccaccio consciously changed or imitated a very specific moment in his sources. For example, to turn to an earlier point in the story, during the deliberations over how to rid themselves of Biancifiore, the Queen suggests that they host a banquet and "arrange with our seneschal that a chicken or some such should be presented" (II:28), which they would have poisoned earlier. The King will become aware of the poison before he can be harmed by it, and they will accuse Biancifiore of attempting his murder. This is in keeping with the other versions of Floire and Blanche-flor – the Greek romance (1.353), the Spanish prose romance ("gallina," 57) and the *Cantare* ("gallina," 1.299), for example – that include the banquet scene and poisoned chicken. At this point in *Il Filocolo*, however, there is no mention of serving a peacock, which becomes a central image later in the work. It is almost as if the idea of inverting the motif of the vows of the peacock, and developing this motif throughout the work occurred to Boccaccio after the story was already in progress.

The pagan deities offer another such example. Perella finds it odd that Boccaccio renders the gods impotent – specifically, that Venus' gesture of protecting the lovers by taking the blow herself is unnecessary because the Admiral's change of mind is not attributed to any kind of Divine Intervention. He says: "The only connection between this clarification of the character's behavior and the mention of Venus' intervention immediately preceding it is in the opening conjunction 'E' and it is so tenuous a link as to make it clear that Boccaccio's use of pagan mythology is too often factitious and purely

ornamental" (331). When we recall the same moment in the Chronicle, quoted above, it is clear that the chronicler provides the necessary transition between the two ideas – the role of God and the resultant action of the King – by stating specifically that the King's change of mind resulted precisely from Divine Intervention: God "put the King in a frame of mind not to kill them" (f. 29rb). I would argue, therefore, that Boccaccio had in mind this specific source – the Chronicle as we have it today or some other manuscript of a very similar version – in constructing this narrative moment. By consciously eliminating the specificity found in the Chronicle that links God's will to human will, Boccaccio maintains not simply an ornamental use of pagan mythology, as Perella sees it, but one more example of the conflicting perspective in the book regarding the pagan and Christian systems; that is to say, irony, rather than ornament or carelessness, governs Boccaccio's construction of the scene, for Venus becomes superfluous.

In the Spanish prose romance – reflecting, perhaps, what was in the lost part of the Italian *Cantare* – confusion causes the Admiral to spare the lovers for the moment: he is at once "enojado" ("angry") and "maravillado" ("amazed") that Flores gained entrance to his supposedly impenetrable edifice. Magic is blamed for the presence of Flores when the servants, fearful of the Admiral's wrath, lie to him and tell him that Flores entered the tower through the aid of his mother, who was schooled in the seven arts: "y que ella le habia metido allí" ("and that she had placed him inside") (109).

The magic ring makes its reappearance when the Admiral orders the execution of the lovers. As mentioned in the first part of this chapter "The selling of Blancheflor," there are two rings – one belonging to Blancheflor, the other to Floire's mother – in the *Cantare*, *Filocolo*, Spanish prose romance and the Greek version. The works that include two rings all do so for the same reason: to alert Floire while he is in Montoire that Blancheflor is in danger. This advisement to Floire results in his defense of Blancheflor at a joust held at his father's palace, an episode that does not appear at all in the versions that have only one ring.

All the other versions (except for the popular French, which has no ring at all) show only one ring; its importance varies, as we shall see. Both Cooper (138–39) and Price (27–28) believe that the lovers are saved from the fire not by the efficacies of the ring, but by the power of their love for each other, and that the ring serves to epitomize that

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

love. But the ring, discussed by Cooper, Barnes and Price as a non-secular feature, is, in fact, at its most interesting as a narrative device in the *Filocolo*, the Chronicle and the prose romance, where its relationship to religion is stated or implied. Both the Chronicle and the *Filocolo* undermine the value of magic, the Chronicle by ignoring the magic property of the ring and Boccaccio precisely by the way in which he mentions it. Only the prose romance attempts to reconcile magic and divine intervention by showing the former to be subordinate to God's will.

In both the Chronicle and the *Filocolo* (and only in these two versions), a ring is used during a clandestine marriage.¹⁰ Flores takes his mother's ring and gives it to Blancaflor, who vows that she is his forever (f. 27va-b). *Filocolo* and *Biancifiore* kneel before statues of pagan gods, and *Filocolo* returns to *Biancifiore* as part of the wedding ceremony the ring that she had given him before his departure for Montoro (IV:129-21).

In the Chronicle, when the lovers are to be executed at the stake after their discovery by the King, the time is right for the ring to perform its reputed magic, that neither fire nor water nor anything else can harm the holder of the ring. Instead (drawing from a motif typical of the romance of chivalry, the combat of generosity, in which a friend attempts to take the blame for another's actions, thereby sparing the life of the other [Matulka 87], the lovers engage in a kind of combat of generosity, each imploring the other to take the ring for protection, until Blancaflor, convinced that Flores will never take the ring from her, throws it to the floor (f. 34vb). One of the Admirals, Tençer, retrieves the ring "si por aventura estorçiesen dela muerte" (f. 34vb) ("in case they should be threatened by death"). They are indeed threatened by death, but Tençer produces the ring only after the King has pardoned Flores and Blancaflor, when Flores is telling his story to the court.

In *Il Filocolo*, the magic ring is undermined by the offhand reference to its value. The lovers again engage in a combat of generosity, but finally decide to touch the ring together, which protects them from the flames (IV:133). But the smoke terrifies them

¹⁰ Smarr incorrectly asserts that, within the context of the legend of *Floire and Blancheflor*, Boccaccio invented the clandestine marriage: "This concern for marriage before lovemaking is new with Boccaccio's revision of his sources. . . . Although Boccaccio shares many elements with all three [the two French poems and the Italian *Cantare*], not one includes the exchange of rings and vows until after the couple has been caught in bed and then pardoned" (*Boccaccio and Fiammetta* 44).

and they call on the gods to help: "The gods (who were not angry) were duly moved by these prayers, and were quick to hear them and provide gracious aid; although the ring was most helpful, too" (IV:134). The narrator implies a hierarchy of power, with the gods understandably higher than a magic object. But the very structure of Boccaccio's sentence casts doubt on the power of the ring, almost as if it were an afterthought. The earlier episode in Montoro, when Venus appears to Florio, develops in a similar manner. It is only after Venus' lengthy speech on what will befall Biancifiore at the banquet and the prediction that Florio would be her defender that it occurs to Florio – who clearly does not doubt the apparition when he awakens from his sleep to find a sword in his hand – to look at the ring that Biancifiore had given him: "Quite astonished at this, he realized that what he had seen in the departed vision had been true [...] [H]e tearfully looked at it [the ring] and said, 'Let this be an infallible testimony to the truth.' As he gazed on it, he saw it wholly blemished and lacking in brilliance" (II:43).

The Spanish prose romance focuses on the ring as a device that serves God's divine plan. As in *Il Filocolo*, both lovers grasp the ring, but the action is described as the protection that results from an act of faith. Blancaflor suggests to Flores that they both hold the ring because "Dios les ayudaria, por la virtud del anillo. Y asi fue hecho" (111) ("God would help them, by virtue of the ring. And so it came to pass"). Only in this version is there a public reaction to the ring's effectiveness, attributed to God: "Quando esto vido el Almiral y todos los que alli estaban, dijeron que aquello debia ser algun gran misterio de Dios; que no se debian quemar, que a Dios no le placia que muriese[n]" (112). ("When the Admiral saw this, and all those who were there, they said that that must be one of God's great mysteries; they said that they must not burn them, that it would not please God if they died.")

The ring's effectiveness as a magical device is subject to the narrative goals of the individual texts. Each author or redactor reworks the primary features of the love story to suit the individual aims of the new text, for the country involved and the time period. The ring is a good example of the ways in which a medieval author shaped his story along generic lines. Medieval genres were fluid forms, flexible to the designs and whims of the individual creator. By focusing on the transformation of the ring in the various texts – from pure magic or *engin* in the aristocratic French and Middle English

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

tales to part of God's plan in the sixteenth-century Spanish prose romance – we can see how a genre forms from small details and not just from large sweeping changes. *Floire and Blancheflor* moves from twelfth-century idyll or romance to a kind of Christian epic not simply by the emphasis on conversion at the end of the stories but by the recasting of small features – such as the ring – which, by themselves, do not signal any definite genre.¹¹ We see, also, that our concept of genre can be an impressionistic one formulated, especially in medieval narratives, by an overall tone or subtle coloring of a work.

An interplay of cunning and counsel continues in the trial scene of the works, which is an important transitional step between Floire's quest for Blancheflor and the final harmonizing of love story and religious tale that follows the imprisonment of the lovers. In this part of the works, the meaning of *conseil* is most often judicious counsel, wisdom, an example of the power of intellect and reasoning, and is far less concerned with trickery than in other parts of the work. The versions differ tonally when Floire is called upon to defend himself verbally, and the stories emphasize, depending on the version, the wit of his ability to articulate, his powers of verbal persuasion, or simply the story of Floire's life as information.

In the aristocratic French version, the counselors to the Emir – several kings and barons – proffer reasons either to spare the lovers or condemn them. Boccaccio's trial of the lovers shows definite affinities with its counterparts in the French and Middle English poems and the Chronicle. In the aristocratic French version, an unnamed king reasons that the lovers must be heard before the council can make a recommendation (11. 2539–47). The King of Nubia, Don Gaiffier (mentioned also in the Chronicle as Gradifer) claims that the Emir's having witnessed the lovers in bed would justify their death, and that they did not deserve "a day in court" (11. 2548–61). The council opts for the second recommendation. After the discarded ring has been rescued by a nobleman, the Emir summons the lovers to tell their story before the gathering. The solution to the dilemma of whether to spare the lovers is a command by the council that Floire reveal his entire story, including the details of his cunning feat of entry into the heretofore impenetrable fortress.

¹¹ We can say, of course, that magic devices such as the ring are more often found in romance and fairy tale than in any other genre, and as such can be said to have an affinity with romance; but such a feature is not a generic marker of romance.

The road to conversion

The development in this part of the narrative is on storytelling and counsel, although even here we can note tonal differences. As Barnes points out, in the Old French version some judges are moved by the beauty of the lovers, whereas the Middle English poem “reduces weeping and pity, omits the description of hero and heroine, and thus directs attention towards the court’s eagerness to discover the *gin* through which Floris has slipped through the Emir’s “cordon” (“Cunning and Ingenuity” 20). The narrator of the aristocratic French repeatedly praises the offering of good advice and the accepting of it by the various characters in the Emir’s realm, including the Emir himself. The subsequent embracing of Christianity by Floire, which, at least in the Spanish prose romance, is a condition of Blancaflor’s acceptance of Flores’s wedding proposal, is not a major factor in the story. Here, in the Old French, the obstacle to the lovers’ marriage is, in fact, Floire’s parents’ view of Christianity and not any obstinacy on the part of Blancheflor, for she quite willingly marries Floire in the Emir’s kingdom before he converts. Granted, the subsequent conversion is described as an action in honor of Blancheflor, but the conversion is in no way linked to a Christian sacrament of marriage.

The Middle English versions are interesting as a separate unit of study. As we saw in Chapter One, all four surviving English manuscripts lack the beginning, about 189 lines. Egerton is the most complete English manuscript, but, as Barnes tells us, “the narrative content of E appears to be slightly more condensed than that of Auchinleck (A), Cambridge (C), or the badly damaged Cotton Vitellius (V). Where comparison is possible, these three MSS all show additional occurrences of *conseil*, *gin*, and *rede* without a corresponding increase in *loue* or *amour*” (“Cunning and Ingenuity” 15). In addition to the clearly intentional purpose of increased emphasis on *conseil*, the poets of the various manuscripts appear to be minimalizing the religious or conversionary aspects of the love story, for only the Auchinleck manuscript mentions the conversion of Floris at all (“vnderfeng Cristendom of prestes honde” [Taylor 1.1303]) and there is no mention of the subsequent conversion of his countrymen. We will never be able to chart the *peregrinatio* of all the European versions as long as we possess as English representatives manuscripts that all lack a fair number of the opening lines, but for now we can only assume that the Middle English version derives solely from the aristocratic French tale, with some poetic innovations along the lines

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

of cunning and ingenuity that result in slightly differing versions in the surviving manuscripts.¹²

As in other cases, the Chronicle and the *Filocolo* provide the most lengthy narratives of the trial and subsequent marriage of the lovers. Both versions have the unique episode of the giving of a ring as a symbol of a clandestine marriage, and only in the *Filocolo* and the Chronicle does the wedding of the lovers take place at the Admiral's palace; another wedding of the lovers in the Chronicle takes place on the island of their conversion and reflects their newfound love of Christianity, as well as the monks' haste to legitimize in the eyes of the Church the marriage(s) that the lovers effected in the Admiral's realm.

The Chronicle, we recall, intersperses historical accounts of the Moorish kingdoms of southern Spain with chapters of the story of Flores and Blancaflor. Not surprisingly, then, since the love story – especially Flores's lineage and his journey to save Blancaflor – is told as if it were history, the trial of the lovers is made to coincide with a believable pseudo-historical event, the arrival of the counselors ("almirales") of the provinces to pay honor to the King of Babylon, by order of the caliph ("el galifa"). This approaches, in fact, the exposition in the aristocratic French where the different kings, such as the King of Nubia, Gaiffier, offer opinions to the Admiral. But the material in the Chronicle, compared to the amount of space given in the aristocratic French poem, is vastly expanded.

Logically enough, the entire trial scene is constructed on the premise of seeking and offering counsel. Consistent with the emphasis on advice in the Chronicle and the repetition of variations of the word "counsel" – more so than in any other version including *Il Filocolo* – the King immediately seeks to know how Flores entered the tower, asking "quales fueron aquellos que vos lo consejaron" (f. 29) ("who were those who counselled you?"). Gaydon and Gandifer, the tutor and the companion, intervene with the King on Flores's behalf, but the King insists on waiting for the tribunal.

When the King explains his position to the newly arrived council – that after he had opened his heart and court to Flores, the young man betrayed him – the court responds in unison that this treason merits punishment by death: "le pidien merçed que los mandase matar,

¹² Barnes's very fine analysis of *conseil* and *red* in the Middle English versions offers many other examples of the instances in which the four manuscripts approximate to or distinguish themselves from the Old French.

diziendo los vnos que los enforcasen e los otros que los arrastrasen e los otros que los quemasen. E cada uno dellos asacava muertes las mas crueles que podien ser" (f. 32ra). ("They asked that [the King's] will be to order their death, some calling for them to be hanged, others that they be dragged [to death] and others that they burn them. And each one of them suggested the cruelest deaths that could possibly happen.")

As I explained in Chapter One, the only other version to include this kind of detail about death is the Old Norse version: "After remaining unfaithful to its source [supposedly only the aristocratic French poem] for the greater part of the narrative, the translation *diverges from any known version of the original* [emphasis mine] near the end of the romance when ... the judges argue about appropriately gruesome methods of torture and execution" (Barnes, "The Riddarasögur" 156). For Barnes, this moment marks the transition between a secular love story and a tale of religious devotion, and furthers her argument that the *riddarasögur*, the Old Norse prose translations of French verse romances, are marked by the Norse translators' innovations, that seem especially influenced by hagiography.¹³ In terms of sources, however, this narrative moment adds further evidence to the argument of the present study either that there remain unexplored Old Norse–Castilian literary relations, perhaps stemming from the marriage of King Hákon of Norway's daughter Kristín to Felipe, the brother of Alfonso el Sabio of Castile, in 1258, or that there was a greater diffusion through central and northern Europe of the third strain (as represented by the Chronicle) than heretofore has been postulated.

The arguments of the trial in the Chronicle insist on the necessity of executing "justicia con derecho" ("rightful justice"). Repeatedly, Tençer, Alfanges, Gaydon and Gandifer argue in the court, and the text employs variations of the word "razón" ("reason," "rationale," "debate"). Indeed, in the Chronicle, as in Diederich's version, when the King remains unchanged in his desire for cruel vengeance, Alfanges reasons that the accused must be heard: if they are not, all the counselors remind the King, he will not be executing justice. Unlike the French and Middle English versions, in which everyone is eager to hear Floire's story, the Chronicle recounts for several folios

¹³ J. B. Smith's assertion that the specific references to torture arise from "the tendency to popularize and coarsen for the sake of a cruder taste" (108) is revised by Barnes, who sees, instead, that *Flóres saga*, in its suggestion of the beheading of the lovers, resembles the "fate of martyrs in *heilagra manna sögur*" ("The Riddarasögur" 156). See also "Some Observations on *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*."

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

the repetitious pleas of the court to the King that Flores be permitted to speak, which he continues to deny.

As mentioned earlier, Gaiffier of Nubia, as he is called in the aristocratic French version, shows great hostility towards the lovers. Here, however, the Chronicle documents his ambivalence, depending on the skill with which each of the others presents his case either in favor of, or against, the lovers. Finally, the King demands that Gradifer (not to be confused with Gandifer) provide the court with a summation. He does so, stating that the decision of pardon or condemnation lies in the hands of the King. The King orders their beheading, as he did in the Old Norse version, but after a much shorter discussion than appears in the Chronicle.

Interestingly, the Chronicle's Tençer dissociates himself from the judgment, stating unequivocally that the proceedings have not been fair. The King intimidates Tençer by turning to the others and calling upon them to censure Tençer's disloyalty and questioning of their collective judgment. But Gradifer, the ambivalent one, courageously invokes the purpose of the court, which is founded on the principle of councils and counsel. It is the role of the court to offer the best counsel that it possibly can give the ruler, and the role of the ruler to accept it and act accordingly, which is to say judiciously: "Porque el consejo de muchos es mas e mejor que de vno solo, e quando todos son de vn acuerdo, es el rey seguro que faze lo mejor. E sy vos tan grand sabor auiedes de matar aquestos que aqui tenedes presos, non auiedes por que nos llamar a vuestra corte" (f. 36ra). ("Because the counsel of many is greater and better than that of one alone, and when all are in agreement, the King is certain of doing the best thing. And if you had such a desire to kill those you have held prisoner here, then you had no reason to call us all here to your court.") In this respect, the Chronicle and the *Filocolo* are similar, for the reaction of the Kings' counselors is recounted in both, but Boccaccio insists upon the fear and silence of the Italian courtiers.

The King expresses his hope that the court will continue to advise him, and he agrees, therefore, to listen to Flores for the first time. He persists in calling upon the court to order the execution of the lovers, but the court, upon hearing the details of Flores's earlier rescue of the King, instead reiterates its belief that the lovers should go free. We recall that earlier in the text, Flores saved the King from his enemies. In the Chronicle, this is the episode on which the entire court proceedings turn: the counsellors and the King repeat several times

that Flores's liberation of the King was a great service, and his dishonourable act, by comparison, a very small matter. The King terminates the deliberations by saying that it would be incorrect to insist on his need for vengeance "ca la cosa del mundo que mas deuen guardar los rreyes es conoscer el seruicio queles fazen, mas alos estrannos que alos suyos, porque me tengo de vos por muy bien aconsejado e perdonolo" (f. 38ra). ("Because the worldly thing that kings should maintain most is recognizing the service that others do for them, even more from strangers than from their own people, and I consider myself well counselled by you, and I pardon him.")

Whereas in the aristocratic French and Middle English poems Floire's ability to articulate his own ingenuity in having found Blanche-flor in the tower ultimately saves him at the tribunal, in the Chronicle this is not the case. When the trial is ended, and after three days of merrymaking, the King asks Flores to tell them all how he managed to enter the tower, and the audience marvels not at Flores's wit but at the porter's cunning in devising the plan to hide in the basket, and laughs at Blancaflor's quick-wittedness in claiming that a bee had struck her when she felt Flores in the basket. This reduced emphasis on the ingenuity of the hero should not surprise us, for it is clearly the purpose of the trial scene to serve as a kind of *miroir de princes*, which instructs in the manner of good government. In this the Chronicle resembles some of the *riddarasögur*, as described by Barnes, which, under the reign of Hákon of Norway, incorporated this feature of the *miroir de princes* tradition ("The *Riddarasögur*" 142–46) and, as Leach tells us, were "a court literature, intended by Hákon as much for profit as for pleasure, to instruct those who surrounded him, in the ideals and customs, accoutrement and ceremonies of chivalry" (153).

The trial scene of the Chronicle brings together the threads of counsel and advice that pervade the text, but which are never so clearly highlighted as in this section of the work. *Engin* as "cunning" certainly has no place here, but a certain kind of ingenuity and wit does – the ability to argue judiciously, rationally and intelligently. In place of the kind of *conseil* found in the aristocratic French and Middle English poems, the Chronicle demonstrates quite seriously the need for intelligent counsel as a means of good government and in order to preserve civil peace. Even God recedes into the background in this section. For a work that relies heavily on the reality of Divine Intervention, God is curiously absent in this part, but it is clearly

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

because the author or chronicler writes with a mission that is perhaps more human than divine, but which demonstrates the highest sense of order and intellect possible on earth.

Unlike many of the other versions of the story, there is not really a trial in *Il Filocolo*. After the Admiral has been prevented by Venus from harming the lovers, he orders them to be bound, naked, and draped out the window of the tower through which Filocolo presumably entered. He then orders that they be burned at the stake. After the events of the ring, described above, Ascalion and his men do battle with the Admiral's men in order to save the lovers. When the Admiral arrives in the meadow and views the debacle, he suspects that this is the work of the gods: "Truly, I believe that the gods are displeased at what I did to them, and that they are swift in their revenge" (IV:145). He offers an olive branch to Ascalion, who assures him: "[L]et what we have done be considered as the punishment for your sin, that you tried to kill by fire friends of the gods" (IV:148). The Admiral heeds the advice of Ascalion, accepts peace in the name of his own gods, and marvels at the miracle wrought by them. Filocolo recounts the story of who he is, revealing that he changed his name to Filocolo "when I became a pilgrim for love" (IV:151), and the Admiral realizes that Florio is his sister's child.

The significance of all of this becomes clearer when we juxtapose these scenes to those of the other versions of *Floire and Blancheflor*, and, specifically, to those scenes that treated the councils and advice surrounding the framing of Biancifiore at King Felix's court. The aristocratic French poem contains a debate about the fate of the lovers, described above. The Chronicle, as we know, also includes a rather lengthy trial scene. But *Il Filocolo*, which usually follows the general outline of *Floire and Blancheflor*, has no trial scene at all. What does occur, however, is an opportunity for the Admiral to show his wisdom in heeding the signs of the gods that they favor Filocolo and Biancifiore and in acceding to the counsel of Ascalion to seek peace and not further war. In other words, the Admiral, ostensibly a villain in the piece, rules his kingdom not through sheer will – even though his natural anger demanded the execution of the lovers – but through the prudence that should be the hallmark of a good ruler. What does that tell us about the other ruler portrayed in the book? King Felix plots to condemn a woman he knows to be completely innocent; he is shown to intimidate his tribunal so that they do not feel that the truth can be spoken; when Biancifiore is

The road to conversion

vindicated in a joust by the disguised Florio, an action that normally would be accepted as proof of the will of the gods, the King is not deterred from his desire to rid himself and his son of Biancifiore. In other words, neither judicious action on the part of his courtiers nor signs from the gods can sway this ruler from his personal aims. In the world of *Il Filocolo*, even the amoral harem-keeper, the Admiral, pales in comparison to King Felix. Even though Boccaccio does not imitate the Chronicle in portraying a lengthy trial scene at the end, he does draw from the Chronicle's emphasis on how a ruler should rule: it would seem logical that the give-and-take of counsel that informs the lovers' trial in the Chronicle finds its counterpoint in the *Filocolo* in the tribunal at King Felix's court, where Felix stubbornly and malevolently ignores the counsel of the men he himself had called to advise him.

Boccaccio closes Book Four with the exposition of the fulfillment of the vows and promises to the peacock that had been made earlier in the story. In a sense, this section permits Filocolo to make his peace with the gods who had helped him throughout the story, and it serves as a transition between the world of the pagan gods and the subsequent conversion of Filocolo in Book Five. He visits temples and offers sacrifices to all the various gods and the wedding is planned for the very near future.

When the great day arrives, the Admiral recounts for the crowd the entire story of Florio and Biancifiore, couched very much in terms of the lovers' manipulation by councils and forces of cunning: "hostile fates," "unstable Fortune," the "subtle scheme prepared by one who hated her [Biancifiore] beyond measure" and their response to all this by their own acceptance of counsel and use of guile: the finding of Biancifiore by Florio "by subtle device" and the entering of the tower "by an unheard-of stratagem" (IV:159). The wedding itself celebrates the holy gods, and the Admiral's realm metamorphoses from a tragic to a happy setting: "And so, the place which a little earlier had been set up for their death was now established for the exaltation of their life.... Altered fortune had turned everything to its contrary" (IV:161). Although the narrative does not devote nearly as much space to the fulfillment of the vows to the peacock as to the pledging of them in Book Two, they are nonetheless recalled. Thus, the banquet in Book Two that had been nothing but a stratagem for the demise of Biancifiore finds its counterpart in the wedding banquet of Book Four. Not only do the barons find the opportunity to recall and

Cunning and ingenuity or Divine Intervention?

fulfill their earlier vows, but the bejeweled cup that had been one of the treasures exchanged for Biancifiore by the merchants reappears as a wedding present for the lovers.

The gods are invoked at the end of the Book, proving that good triumphs over bad, right over wrong, divine councils over infernal ones and, in the human realm, good counsel over bad. Concomitantly, the concepts of cunning and ingenuity are shown to fail when contrary to the will and desires of the gods, and to succeed when employed in the service of the gods and their divine plan for the lovers. Thus, Florio's deceptions and acts of guile are blameless because he worked on the side of right: ultimately, and certainly unbeknownst to him, he worked on the side of Christianity.

The Spanish prose romance passes rather quickly from the discovery of the lovers to the conversion material. When the ring, through God's intervention, saves the lovers, Flores recounts his story and the Admiral relents, not because he benefits from wise counsel, but because, upon hearing that Flores was the son of the King of Spain, he regrets his harsh treatment of such a noble guest: "pesóle mucho cuán descortesmente lo habia tratado, aunque no habia seido su culpa" (112) ("it grieved him that he had treated him [Flores] so discourteously, although it had not been his fault"). The lovers depart for Spain soon after and are married there: unlike what happens in *Il Filocolo* and *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, then, the marriage is not an elaborate celebration in the Admiral's realms, but a necessary part of the divine plan to Christianize all of Spain.

We can see, then, the evolution in the versions from the aristocratic French poem, in which *engin* and *conseil* play a role not uncommon in narrative, to the expansion of *engin* in the Middle English version as an intricate narrative device, to the transformation and expansion of *engin* and *conseil* in the "converted" texts, *Il Filocolo*, the Spanish Chronicle, and the Spanish prose romance, where cunning and ingenuity, councils and counsel are interwoven into the narrative tapestry of the unfolding of Divine Plans. The findings of this chapter will be recalled in Chapter Four, "Routes of Conversion: Time and Space," because issues of cunning, ingenuity and Divine Intervention become inseparable from those of moral geography, spiritual redemption, genealogy and lineage, and narrative goals. The episodes that follow the trial scenes in *Floire and Blancheflor* continue to employ forms of *engin* and *conseil*, but they will be considered within the larger context of the above-mentioned topics in Chapter Four.

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

Throughout the various versions of *Floire and Blancheflor*, the reader or listener encounters a variety of inscribed texts from specific references to authors and ancient narratives to iconographic representations. The extent to which each version employs an inscribed text and the intended function of that text vary greatly. As an audience within a given work, characters and narrators engage in the activities of reading, writing and storytelling which encourage interpretation of the tales by the audience beyond the work and by the characters themselves. Within the stories, the programmatic images – literary and iconographic – enhance the narrative, propel the story forward, and in at least one case, that of the Spanish Chronicle, help to establish a national identity. The inscribed texts focus the attention of the audience on something outside the story itself, either as part of the structure of meaning within the tale or as a means of creating links between this text and others. The most complex examples of the intricacy of inscribed textual patterns occur in the aristocratic French version, Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo*, the Spanish Chronicle and the Spanish prose romance.

Roberta Krueger first mentioned the distinctive literariness of the aristocratic French version as opposed to the popular version, which exchanges idyllic scenes for those of armed combat. Krueger's analysis concentrated on the self-reflective nature of the story by examining the links between the audience and text as established in the prologue – the narrator relates what he overheard two sisters discussing, one of whom had heard the love story from a clerk – and by suggesting that the aristocratic version consciously equates the art of learning (specifically, reading) with the increased knowledge of love. She offers concrete examples – the frame device, the *coupe troyenne*, the false tomb, the Emir's tower and orchard, and the portraits of the hero and heroine – to demonstrate the hypothesis that “the disarmingly simple

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

first version of *Floire et Blancheflor* shares with the longer, more complex *roman courtois* of the second half of the twelfth-century a sophisticated literary reflectivity that is as significant a contribution to medieval literature as its idyllic presentation of innocent love” (69–70).

Taking as a point of departure Krueger’s analysis of the literary subtext of *Floire and Blancheflor*, this chapter expands the notion of textual literariness to include, as mentioned earlier, references or allusions to other works and authors. The chapter will examine, also, the roles of the author and the narrator and the acts of reading, writing and storytelling. The first section of this chapter, however, deals with a more elusive subject, that is, texts and images that are evoked but not specifically mentioned. The ideas for this section owe much to V.A. Kolve’s exemplary *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative*, which reconstructs the iconographic background of the first five *Canterbury Tales*, through which he then recreates a plausible medieval reader. Kolve returns repeatedly to the simple question “What is remembered?” after one reads the text, as a means of selecting the images most likely to have captured the imagination of the medieval public. I am concerned with images and literary allusions – in several of the versions, but especially in the *Filocolo* – that contribute to the narrative texture, the fabric of the text. It is worth recalling Kolve’s question here, for I am not concerned with uncovering every possible literary and iconographic image, but only those most prominent and pertinent to the medieval audience. It is not meant to be a source study: that topic has been fruitfully covered by the nineteenth and early-twentieth-century positivist critics. Rather, it intends specifically to address how the presence of reading, writing and narrating help to tell this story, and especially how these concepts work in tandem with the overt theme of the work, that is, conversion.

Particularly in *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* and *Il Filocolo*, but by no means exclusively in those works, most of the literary and iconographic images that can be said to control the imaginative unity of *Floire and Blancheflor* are related to the motifs of pilgrimage, conversion and the Garden of Paradise.¹ It is seemingly contradictory

¹ I borrow the terms “imaginative unity” and “imaginative center” from Alban K. Forcione’s analysis of Cervantes’s *Colloquy of the Dogs* (*Cervantes and the Mystery of Lawlessness* 72–127), in which he elegantly demonstrates how the author employs images as the work’s imaginative center, “the source of life that radiates to all points of its circumference. Once we

The road to conversion

that *Floire and Blancheflor* is both a literary pilgrimage and a tale of conversion. While it is not unusual that a band of pilgrims en route to their destination of devotion should encounter non-believers and cause their conversion, it seems somewhat odd that the protagonist be at the same time the pagan, the pilgrim and the convert. Pilgrimage usually implies a known end, a specified object of devotion, while conversion implies, rather, a turning from ignorance or a rejection of one's prior beliefs. And while we can argue that Floire's quest is a pilgrimage of love, or an unwitting Christian pilgrimage, this in no way erases the fact that at least two literary discourses are working in tandem. Added to the fact that *Floire and Blancheflor* is, at heart, romance transformed to other genres – chronicle, epic and myth in the case of the early Spanish text, epic, allegory, history and myth in the case of Boccaccio – then it is clear that some features of the text will exhibit polysemous qualities that permit multiple readings of the various texts.² One of the goals of this chapter, then, is to examine what lies behind the words of the text and what their significances may be. The first part of this chapter deals with those literary allusions or iconographic images that relate to pilgrimage, the garden and conversion. We will see how all three converge in the *Filocolo* in what can be termed the imaginative center of the work, the garden scene of the questions of love, which is flanked by Filocolo's two dream-visions. The second part of the chapter recalls those images that are essential to the story in some way and also answers the question "What is remembered?" Interestingly enough, the images chosen tend to return us to the previous chapter on *engin*, in all its definitions. The next section, "The changing role of the narrator," is designed to summarize how the versions are told, and to describe briefly the ways in which they invite continuation. Finally, because *Il Filocolo*'s structure is so complex, it merits a separate examination in "Narrative of discourse: readers, writers and storytellers in *Il Filocolo*."

have possessed it, we can see much more clearly the relationships among its apparently disorderly parts and between its parts and the unified whole that they compose" (72).

- ² Smarr was the first to mention the epic qualities in the *Filocolo*: "The *Filocolo* was a tremendously ambitious enterprise undertaken in Boccaccio's hopeful youth. It is a complicated – not to say scrambled – mixture of all the great literature which Boccaccio wanted to imitate: a Vergilian epic, an Ovidian *Metamorphoses*, and a French romance all rolled together and, moreover, allegorized" (*Boccaccio and Fiammetta* 34). While the Spanish Chronicle is indeed different, I would argue nonetheless that there are multiple discourses and generic tendencies in this work as well, including a movement toward epic.

IMAGERY OF NARRATIVE: PILGRIMAGE, GARDEN AND CON-
VERSION

As framing fictions, all the versions employ what we might call an implied text, the world of the pilgrimage, especially of Saint James of Compostela, in several forms – oral and written legend, carvings, paintings, statues and stained-glass windows in churches, and even the cartography of the pilgrimage route. Although the idea of pilgrimage impels the aristocratic French version, as well as the popular version, the Old Norse tale and the *Cantare* (all four Middle English manuscripts lack the opening), it is only when we reach the *Filocolo* and the Chronicle that the material of pilgrimage and what leads up to it is developed narratively. What separates these two works is the opening material: genealogy in *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* and an elaborate frame-device in the *Filocolo*.

The slaying of the company of pilgrims at the opening of the texts could present a powerful narrative image, but it is only the *Filocolo* that makes much of it. We are considering here those narrative images with iconographic dimensions, those that serve, as Kolve tells us about Chaucer's *The Man of Law's Tale*, "not as rhetorical ornament but as an iconographic possibility of narrative action itself" (363). Interestingly, in discussing Chaucer's tale, Kolve excludes another slaying of Christians as not fitting his criteria. When the Sultan's mother orders the execution of the Christian guests at a banquet, the scene is described in great visual detail. But, as Kolve explains, it has no affiliation with any other image in the work as a whole (except, we could say, with the general idea of innocent Christians falling prey to barbaric pagans), no symbolic meaning, and, most importantly, it does not become a center of meaning to the entire poem (362).

The case of the pilgrims in *Floire and Blancheflor* differs from the above in, most notably, *Il Filocolo* and the Spanish prose romance. While the actual image of the slaughter of the pilgrims may not evoke another concrete image (either by reminding us of another work or by causing us to recall or look forward to another similar scene in the same work), it does, as mentioned earlier, contextualize the events of the story within the broader framework of the brutal conflicts between Christians and pagans in the Crusades, and, even more specifically, the extremely harsh reality of the battles in Spain between the Moors and the Christians. Moreover, the notion of pilgrimage, far from being forgotten, does in fact become a center of meaning to both

The road to conversion

Il Filocolo and the Spanish prose romance. It is the impulse of pilgrimage that leads ultimately to conversion of an entire country: a conversion not effected by the pilgrims themselves, for they are dead, but as the result of a second pilgrimage by the constant lover, Floire.

Boccaccio erects an entire imaginary world on the juxtaposition of the motivations and the proceedings of earthly tribunals or councils with heavenly and infernal ones, as explained in the previous chapter on cunning and ingenuity. If the workings of various councils can be seen as a series of vertical lines that help to sustain the text, the obvious horizontal narrative construct, that permits the characters to move and survive in the world of capricious councils, is the pilgrimage. More than the love story, which logically cannot begin until the lovers have been born, the pilgrimage holds the story together. From the collective pilgrimage of Giulia and Lelio and their followers the story turns to the individual pilgrimage of Florio, now Filocolo, who declares himself to be a pilgrim of love, who will not rest until Biancifiore has been recovered safely from the clutches of the merchants. The third voyage, once again a journey conducted by many people – when the two lovers and their company depart from the Admiral's kingdom – becomes an unwitting pilgrimage. When Biancifiore has a vision of Rome, the company agrees to turn towards that holy city. The arrival there sets the stage for Florio's conversion when Ilario the priest relates the compelling narrative of Jesus Christ. Thus the text comes full circle, from an intended pilgrimage of devotion to the patron saint of Spain, Saint James of Compostela, to a pilgrimage of love – which, not coincidentally, will lead the pagan lover to his Christian destiny – to the pilgrimage of conversion in one of the most sacred sites in all of Christendom, the holy city of Rome.

In the Spanish prose romance, the notion of pilgrimage becomes the central organizing principle of the story. As we will see in Chapter Four, in which geography and its relationship to morality is examined, the tale comes full circle when Flores and Blancaflor end up, not in the original kingdom, as they do in every other version, but in Rome, where Flores becomes, by virtue of his marriage and therefore familial relationship to the former Holy Roman Emperor – Blancaflor's father's relative – the new Holy Roman Emperor. The story of the lovers, while essentially the same in all the versions, exhibits a subtle coloring in that it very specifically avenges the killing of the pilgrims at the beginning of the story, and Flores quite specifically replaces his murdered father-in-law.

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

We can see the authorial intention behind this when we compare *Il Filocolo* with the Spanish prose romance. In the latter, when the lovers and their company set forth from the Admiral's realm to return to Spain, their journey is interrupted by a shipwreck, during which time Flores ponders the events of his life and decides that Blancaflor's God is the true God. The author of this sixteenth-century Spanish version is less concerned with the direct relationship between the parents' trip as pilgrimage and the journey of their daughter and her beloved years later, because the cause-and-effect relationship of the pilgrimage and the story's denouement – the crowning of Flores as Holy Roman Emperor – is demonstrated as the spiral of Christian history, and not as linear history as it is in *Filocolo*. It would perhaps be more correct to say that Boccaccio deals with both circular and linear relationships, because even though pilgrimage threads the tale, there is a circularity to his story when the child of Florio and Biancifiore is named Lelio after his deceased grandfather. We can say that a life has replaced a life – little Lelio for Biancifiore's father – in *Filocolo*, whereas position replaces position in the Spanish prose romance when Flores assumes the noble status in the Christian world that had been occupied by Blancaflor's father, and even surpasses that stature by ascending the throne of the Holy Roman Emperor, a position that would have belonged to Miçer Persio had he lived.

In the legend of *Floire and Blancheflor*, the garden, especially that of the Emir or Admiral, has always played an important role, and its function and description, particularly as a means to determine sources and provenance, have sparked much critical debate. Although Floire's stratagem of defeating the porter through chess and his entry into the tower in the basket of flowers might seem to be more in the nature of guile than garden imagery, I discuss it here because the significance of those events cannot easily be divorced from the significance of the garden itself.

Here, and in the next chapter, the concern is not the literary source of the image of the garden or the tower – and therefore its possible contextual significance – but a more abstract, perhaps archetypal, view of the clash between humankind and nature. The tower, sometimes described as containing the garden within its structure (usually at the top of the edifice) and other times as a fortress surrounded by garden, maintains as constant features a striking beauty and a celebrated impenetrability. This impenetrability is foiled in *Floire and Blancheflor* not by a mighty army, but by a simple basket of flowers.

The road to conversion

The tower, with all its opulent materials, lavish decorations and rich design – in sum, its artifice and planning – is, ultimately, no match for a container of cut flowers. This can be viewed in several separate, but related, contexts that all deal with the topic of nature and artifice: architecture versus nature; the natural versus the contrived; and the sexual vitality of young love versus the systematization of sexual desire.³

Architecture invades, appropriates and dominates the natural environment, but nature sometimes wins, by means of the floods, storms, earthquakes and other natural disasters that destroy the man-made constructs. In *Floire and Blancheflor*, disasters are unnecessary to make the point that the natural can overcome the artificial: Floire's ability to gain access to the tower, and, specifically, the way in which he enters the tower, demonstrates the idea of nature defeating man. The point is not diminished even though it is also a man, Floire, who engineers and benefits from this defeat, because the lovers have been intimately connected to nature from the day of their birth and the choice of their names. The Tree of Love, contrived by the Admiral to select the maiden who will be his concubine for one year before she is beheaded and then replaced by another, makes a travesty out of falling in love, sexual desire, and mutual consent. The simplicity and purity of the love between Floire and Blancheflor, as well as the irrepressibility of their physical desire for one another, contrast with all the Admiral's requisite machinations in order to achieve what belongs so instinctively to the two lovers.⁴

³ Spargo provides the most convincing analogues for the basket-incident, not as a means of determining the origins of the entire legend but to dispute some of the other, less convincing Arabic and Oriental analogues proposed by Pizzi and Huet, for example, and Reinhold's utterly unconvincing analogue of the wooden horse of Troy ("Quelques remarques" 169–70). Spargo correctly points out that all the previously proposed analogues that show a male suitor relying on some trick in order to be reunited with the beloved fail to include the specific device of the basket. His analogues include Buddhist *exempla* from about 430 AD, widely disseminated in the Orient, in which the suitor enters the girl's room in a flower-basket ("The Basket Incident" 69–71). The basket-incident in *Floire and Blancheflor* appears to have contaminated at least one version of the "Virgil in the basket" legend, that is, Giovanni Sercambi's *Cronaca* (c.1420), which specifies that Virgil was hoisted up the side of the tower in a *rose* basket. We recall that in some versions of *Floire and Blancheflor* Floire was carried up an interior staircase, but in the *Filocolo*, he goes up the side in a basket of roses. Spargo theorizes that Sercambi "probably knew Boccaccio's romance" and that he "apparently perceived the similarity between the Virgil basket story and that in the romance" (*Virgil the Necromancer* 165–66).

⁴ Price analyzes the aristocratic French version in terms of the contrast between children and adults, the world of imagination and the fulfillment of human needs; although her focus differs from mine, she, too, recognizes the simplicity of a love that can conquer complex machinations. Kibler, apparently unaware of Price's 1982 article, employs many of the same arguments that Price uses in order to demonstrate the search for wholeness and fulfillment in

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

By selecting as the means for entering the tower a basket of flowers, the author of the original story accomplishes with a single image a variety of significations. First of all, as noted by Calin, Price, Reiss, Wentersdorf and others, to place the lover named Floire in a basket of flowers conflates the man and the flower so that the significance of the flower – springtime, renewal, sexuality, beauty – finds its human representation in the lover who is hidden in the basket. The irony is, of course, that if the tower-garden, for all its orchestrated beauty, were sufficient for its inhabitants, the Admiral would never have had to initiate the custom of importing cut roses from the outside. But the message is clear that this artificial, contrived atmosphere can never be enough, can never replace the reality and sheer beauty of nature, even as a simple basket of flowers.

As Reiss and Wentersdorf have shown (though each opts for an interpretation that privileges one over the other) imagery can be at the same time secular and sacred, or, more precisely, erotic and religious. Reiss examines the colors in the work in terms of Christian iconography, in which red stands for divine love and white for purity, and notes the many times that red and white, and shades of those two colors, are associated with Floris and Blanche-flor respectively. Reiss goes on to argue, regarding the tower and the garden, that “far from being a Garden of Deduit or earthly love, this garden is marked by purity” (345). Wentersdorf does not address the significance of the garden in particular, but he does provide examples of the same colors used in an erotic and amorous context.

Reiss’s argument would have been strengthened by reference to the kinds of flowers that the children represent. For the protagonist to be called “Flower” would indicate that his symbol is the rose, which, as the prince of flowers, was often assumed in medieval literature when a flower was mentioned but not specified; the color normally associated with the rose was red. Blanche-flor (“Whiteflower”), on the other hand, was surely the lily, a traditional symbol of purity. In Christian iconography the rose and the lily were often mentioned together; the lily could be Christ or Mary, but when mentioned together, Christ was the rose and Mary the lily.⁵ If the vagueness of “flower” and

psychoanalytic terms. Reiss, as we know, analyzes from the viewpoint of religious symbolism, but he makes a similar point: “this romance emphasizes the necessary unity of parts – one element complements and, indeed, demands the other – and similarly Floris and Blanche-flour are incomplete when apart” (342).

⁵ For a discussion of the history of the lily in the Christian Middle Ages, see Koch, who says: “Walahfrid Strabo, abbot of the Reichenau monastery in the ninth century, seems to have

The road to conversion

“whiteflower” fails to convince us that the author intended to convey rose and lily, we need only consider the evidence of the false tomb in both the Old French and Middle English poems, in which the figures of the lovers extend a single flower to each other:

And Blaunche fleur’s image, with hand raised,
Held up a flower on which Floire gazed.
A rose of pure and precious gold
Before her friend she seemed to hold,
While to his sweetheart Floire, her lover,
A gold white lily seemed to offer. (568–73)

Reiss makes the point, regarding the cup, that the author appears to distinguish between red gold and white gold (342), so in the instance of the tomb, we would be justified to read red and white for the rose and the lily.

If we are to confine ourselves to an interpretation of the Middle English version, as the above-mentioned critics have done, then it would seem that Wentersdorf is somewhat more correct to emphasize the erotic dimensions of the tale, but not correct in negating the religious aspects. For, as I have argued throughout this study, the legend of *Floire and Blancheflor* exhibits an inherent hagiographic potential. Given that the problem of the origins of the legend is far from resolved, but that the Chronicle represents a heretofore unknown witness of the “third strain,” it is just possible that the Old French and Middle English tales represent re-workings of the legend in which the religious aspects are played down, modified somewhat, but never completely eliminated, perhaps because they are intrinsically part of the tale. That is, if the “third strain” with all its emphasis on conversion represents not a reworking that expands and transforms the secular into the sacred, but a version closest to a lost original that was, in its essence, a tale of religious import, then it is certainly possible that the Old French and Middle English authors or redactors modified the religious tale to make it more courtly.⁶

been the first to write of the symbolism of the lily (together with the rose), in the verses at the end of his famous garden poem, the *Hortulus*” (114).

⁶ The question of audience is a vexed one which hinges, in part, on the even more vexed question of the classification of poems. Dieter Mehl addresses the problems and possible solutions in *The Middle English Romances*, especially in the Introduction (1–29) and Chapter One, “The Problem of Classification” (30–38). To give just one example, many of the early works addressed themselves to “lewed men,” which has raised the question of authorial intent and the kind of audience involved. Mehl suggests that such collections as the Vernon MS and Auchinleck MS (which contains a version of *Floris and Blancheflor*) “were not just intended for the lowest classes, but appealed as much to the more educated who

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

In most of the versions of *Floire and Blancheflor*, and especially in *Il Filocolo*, the garden represents a place of edification, often with implications of a moral dimension. The children learn about love by reading Ovid's "holy book," and they transfer this learning to creativity by inscribing their sentiments with gold and silver styluses on ivory tablets (*Floire et Blancheflor* 257–63). The children frolic in the King's lush garden; in school, the garden remains within them for "as their thoughts unfold, / Love's greetings blossom in their words, / With songs of flowers and of birds" (258–60). Thus, we see that learning as well as love is associated early on in the text with garden imagery. Later, in the Emir's realm, the conquering of the tower and garden by Floire and the basket of flowers attests the rightness of the love between Floire and Blancheflor. Moreover, it is the setting for Floire's maturation as the hero; before arriving in Babylon, the hero struggles in his mind over whether to pursue Blancheflor. Then he fears for his life, and takes comfort from gazing at the carving of Paris on the gold cup. In allowing himself to risk his life for love, Floire has learned both of love's supremacy and his own capacity for courageous acts. Floire's courage and Blancheflor's purity and constancy result in the transformation of the Emir's garden from the scene of a barbarous pagan custom – the yearly wedding and beheading of the maidens – into a garden of marriage and monogamy. The garden becomes the setting for another lesson, this one learned by the Emir when he agrees to marry Claris and not have her killed the next year. In some of the other versions, the garden as metaphor for learning and morality is expanded, as we will see in the next chapter.

The above example of the colors and the flowers demonstrates that it is possible to arrive at completely different interpretations using the same imagery. What neither Reiss nor Wentersdorf recognizes in connection with the pervasiveness of the flower imagery is the intentional ambiguity and duality of Christian and pagan elements that begin precisely with the naming of the children on the day of

preferred to listen to stories written in English, even though they may not have been prepared to admit it" because they were written at a time when the upper classes could no longer read the French originals, so "it can therefore be assumed that these English poems were directed at a much wider audience than is often believed and did not just satisfy the common people's appetite for cheap entertainment" (6). Janet Coleman considers the writers and audience of fourteenth-century English literature from the point of view of its social, political and ethical aims: "[this book] argues that relatively few works were meant to entertain but were intended rather to instruct, exhort and, ultimately, to inspire readers to criticize and eventually to reform social practice, by which was meant the behaviour of church officials and the politically and economically powerful" (16).

their birth. All critics who have commented on the importance of flowers in *Floire and Blancheflor* refer to the naming of the children in honor of the holiday on which they were born, but they do not mention that there is disagreement as to which holiday it is. For Calin, for example, the day of the children's birth ("le jour de la Pasque florie" [161]) is Palm Sunday (others claim that this is Eastertide), but he seemingly does not find it curious that the Saracens were so inclined to name the children in honor of a Christian holy day.⁷ Others, Cheney among them, accept that this is a pagan holiday, the "knights' festival of flowers," but no one postulates that the image is deliberately ambiguous so as to cover both sacred and secular interpretations.⁸ All this appears to take us a long way from the specific gardens of the texts, but it is important to establish now – and underscore – the multivalent nature of the imagery in the texts, in order to explain later why the story offers so many possibilities for collapsing time and space, and for following different generic paths. *Floire and Blancheflor* is carefully crafted so as to meld the sacred and the profane, from iconographic imagery to the names of the protagonists to the time and the space of the text.

An implied text of extreme importance for *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* is the *Confessions* of Saint Augustine. In the Chronicle, the shipwrecked band of travelers – Flores, Blancaflor, his friends and tutor – languish on the unnamed island where, to their great amazement, Saint Augustine appears. This paradigmatic figure of conversion awakens in the still-unconverted Flores a desire for the truth of Christianity, an inevitable desire that was introduced when baby Flores nursed at the breast of Blancaflor's mother, imbibing her "Christian" milk.

As we saw in Chapter One, the matter of the breast milk has been discussed by critics for the philological dilemma the reference to it

⁷ The Old Norse version resembles *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* in its attention to realistic detail; the narrator of the northern version apparently did find the naming odd because he interrupts to comment that King Felix named his son Flóres after Blankiflúr's mother explained to him the significance of the Christian holy day. Barnes remarks that "[t]his implies a possible receptiveness to Christianity in King Felix, but this theme remains undeveloped, since the translator is faithful to the story line of the source which later requires some very unchristian behaviour on his part" ("Some Observations on Flóres" 59).

⁸ To explain "On the joyous day designated as the Knights' Festival, when Phoebus was in the arms of the twins Castor and Pollux..." (I:39), Cheney says: "This passage has been taken as referring to an Italian version of the story [presumably the anonymous *Cantare*] in which Florio and Bianciflore are born on Pentecost, there called 'The rosy Easter, the knights' feast.' According to another version [presumably the aristocratic French], they are born on Palm Sunday, 'the flowery Easter,' and their names refer to this other date" (473, n8).

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

provided in the aristocratic French; indeed, breast milk is of no little thematic importance. The nursing Virgin was iconographically and literarily significant throughout the Middle Ages. Saint Bernard recounts a miracle that he experienced, in which he asked Mary to show herself as our mother, whereupon the image of the Virgin miraculously lactated and placed three drops of milk on the lips of the saint. One must wonder if the chronicler of the Spanish work had this association in mind when he described the island on which Flores and Blancaflor were shipwrecked as being “vn ysla que es en el seno del mar oceano, e esta es vna delas yslas que andudo el bien aventurado sennor confesor santo Bernaldo” (f. 41rb) (“an island deep in [literally, in the ‘breast’ of] the ocean, and this is one of the islands that the blessed confessor Saint Bernard walked”). Additionally, the work evokes the image of mothers and converted sons when we recall the strong relationship between Augustine and his mother Saint Monica, who strongly encouraged and prayed for his conversion. God fulfills the promise made in a dream to Monica, as He does for Berta when Flores and Blancaflor convert to Christianity as young adults.

In *Jesus as Mother*, Caroline Walker Bynum explains the increasing use in the Middle Ages of feminine imagery as metaphors for Christ and the Church. For example, the medieval medical theory was that breast milk was processed blood, so the mother, in effect, fed her child with her own blood, as Christ the savior fed the individual soul with the sacrifice of his own blood (132–33). Historically, breast milk was believed to be a conductor of otherwise hereditary characteristics, as well as of ethical and moral qualities. This would explain, in part, why Flores acquired the goodness and desire for Christianity that was such an intrinsic part of Blancaflor’s mother’s being, but it does not explain why the King permitted Berta to nurse his son, although Fildes does mention that the Moors did not have laws against such mixing of Christian and pagan until the twelfth century. The question of a Christian woman nursing a non-Christian does not come up, logically enough, in the versions in which Blancheflor’s mother dies shortly after childbirth.

In the versions in which the mother remains alive, such as the Old French, the Middle English, the Old Norse and the Chronicle, this is a matter of some consequence. In the Old French and Middle English poems, the King permits the mother to raise the two babies together, but specifically forbids her to nurse the boy, instead bringing in a

The road to conversion

pagan woman to do so. The narrator includes the detail that such an arrangement would have been against the law. The Old Norse tale modifies this somewhat, changing the emphasis from a legal concern to a natural aversion to such intimate contact with Christianity (Barnes, "Some Observations" 58). The Chronicle, on the other hand, does not state that such an action might be at odds with the law and the custom. The King tells Berta that he has brought two women to be wetnurses, but Berta tells him that she will take care of them "como vos mandares e seades pagado" (f. 7rb) ("as you command, and may be to your liking"). The narrator then states: "E asy los crio la condessa catiua en esta guisa amuy grande viçio, e en vn lecho los echaua e amaualos mucho, tanbien al fijo de su Sennor commo asu fija" (f. 7rb-va). ("Thus, the captive Countess raised them in this manner, with great joy, and she put them in one bed and loved them very much, the son of her lord as much as her daughter.") We must assume that it was permitted because it was essential to God's plan – his promise to Berta and his grand design for Spain's Christianization.⁹ We might wonder why, if milk had such power, Christians would have been averse to nursing non-Christians, for it would seem that they would have wanted to convert the non-believers in any way possible; but milk had such strong associations with the Church, Christ and the Christian soul that offering breast milk to a non-believer was seen to be sacrilegious.

Interestingly, *Il Filocolo* contains a passing reference to breast milk which confirms the idea of it as conductor of behavioral qualities. When King Felix rants against the betrayal he feels his son has perpetrated by converting to Christianity, the King includes as one of his verbal slings that in order to turn out the way he has, his son "was begotten of hard oaks and cold stones, and drank the milk of cruel tigresses" (V:78). Occurring as it does near the end of the work, and specifically in connection with conversion, this reference to milk may well be another piece of evidence that Boccaccio drew much of his material from a version such as the Chronicle.

Following the miraculous apparition of Saint Augustine to the monks, the Chronicle continues to evoke the saint as a powerful force

⁹ Cacho Bleuca, examining the significance of breast milk in medieval Spanish literature, coincidentally mentions the prohibition in the French *Floire et Blancheflor*, but apparently is unaware of the Chronicle. Fildes provides ample documentation of legal injunctions against the mixing of Jews, Christians and Moors in such a fashion. For the history of lactation as a religious symbol, especially in the Middle Ages, see "The Milk of Paradise," 192–205 in Warner's study of the Virgin Mary, *Alone of All Her Sex*.

behind the conversions. After Flores's spiritual change, he attempts to convert his companions, counseling them to listen to the wise words of the prior of the community of monks on the island. All but Gaydon, his long-revered tutor, accept the new faith: "non finco grande nin pequenno que non fuese cristiano, si non tal sola mente Gaydon, maestro del ynfante, quien dixo que ante se dexarie morir que lo fazer, pues que lo non fazia de coraçon" (f. 43va) ("there remained neither great nor small who was not Christian, but for Gaydon, the prince's tutor, who said that he would die before doing it, since he could not do it whole-heartedly"). When they all return to Flores's father's kingdom in Almería, he decides to transfer the court to Córdoba. The Pope then sends a representative to crown Flores and Blancaflor as Christian monarchs, since they had converted "en amor del confesor sant Agostin" (f. 47) ("through the love of the confessor Saint Augustine"), and to establish bishoprics and consecrated churches in the land. Seeing the great innovations of Guarin, the Pope's representative, Gaydon finally consents to baptism, and accepts as his new name "Agostin, que quiere dezir tardinero en creencia" (f. 47rb) ("Augustine, which means late believer"). This conversion increases Gaydon's value as advisor to Flores, the King, because: "mucho fue buen cristiano este Agostin e muy catolico, e sienpre el Rey Flores siguio por su consejo" (f. 47rb). ("This Augustine was a very good Christian, and very Catholic, and King Flores always followed his counsel.")

While Boccaccio treats these final episodes in a different manner, there are striking parallels that cannot be coincidental. For example, only in the Chronicle and *Il Filocolo* do we have Córdoba as the seat of the pagan kingdom, and that only after the King effects a move from a previous center, Almería in the Chronicle, Marmorina in *Il Filocolo*. Moreover, both authors emphasize in this section of the work the roles of the tutors, Gaydon in the Chronicle and Ascalion in the *Filocolo*, as noble advisors of the adult Floire, although the treatment of the tutors differs, as we will see in the next chapter.

The miraculous appearance of Saint Augustine infuses the Chronicle love story with divine dimensions. For Boccaccio, on the other hand, Augustine the writer's influence is of a more elusive quality. *Il Filocolo*, as the "picciol' libro" of the narrator/author, as well as the tale within, is a conversion tale (hence its relationship to the *Confessions*), but Augustine is evoked more perhaps in the narrator's exhortations to the public about the reception of his book,

The road to conversion

and in subtle ways, such as the implied inferiority of “cities of man” to the city of God. When the narrator classifies his own work as different from the great art of Virgil and Statius, he is at the same time categorizing his own work as similar to Augustine’s in motivation, but lacking Augustine’s fear of the pagan authors. Augustine’s discourse of religious conversion is persuasive, if nothing else – as is Boccaccio’s discourse of literary and religious conversion – but he warns against such authors as Virgil, whose poetry was “a pagan distraction from the Christian truth” (Smarr, *Boccaccio and Fiammetta* 59). Boccaccio straddles the line between feeling comfortable with his own poetic discourse and anticipating criticism that he may well suspect to be justified. That is to say, by daring to create hierarchies of literary works and authors, and leaving “the great verses of Virgil to the excellent wits and vigorous minds” while addressing himself to an entirely different audience, Boccaccio is, at the same time, reaffirming Dante’s acceptance of Virgil “as a prophetic teacher within the Christian providential scheme” (Smarr 59) and rejecting Augustine’s own rejection of Virgil. We will take this up again in the next section on the power of storytelling.

If there is a single image that qualifies as a structural mainstay of *Floire and Blancheflor*, it is likely to be the ship, even though in terms of lavish detail it cannot compare to the Admiral’s tower, the bejeweled cup or Blancheflor’s false tomb. As an image that properly, although by no means exclusively, belongs to romance, the ship functions as a polysemous signal. Frye wryly and correctly noted that the most common form of travel in the romance was by shipwreck (4), and within the broader context of romance as a “secular scripture,” the shipwreck often parallels the near-death or false death of the soul through sin and redemption. In the Old French, Middle English and Old Norse versions, the perilous sea voyages never end in shipwreck. *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, *Il Filocolo* and *Flores y Blancaflor* do develop the journeys to include shipwrecks.

In his thorough and captivating discussion of the image of the Ship of the Church, associated with myriad literary works, paintings and manuscript illuminations, Kolve discusses in great detail the perilous, stormy sea as metaphor for life on earth and the ship as necessary protection, because according to Augustine’s commentary on Matthew “the experience of the Apostles in the storm is like our lives on earth, ‘exposed to waves and tempests; but we must needs be at least in the ship. For if there be perils in the ship, without the ship

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

there is certain destruction'” (314). The Ship of the Church, then, cradles the faithful and guides them to sure salvation. We must recall, however, that there is no single significance to the ship, but a variety of interpretations, often differing merely in nuance. One such example is that of the rudderless ship, as Kolve explains, that carried Custance in the *Man of Law's Tale*: set adrift, the vessel does not relinquish its identity as a Ship of the Church, for its voyage will end in the conversion of another kingdom (316).

The rudderless ship, or an appropriately similar image, appears in the three works that include shipwrecks: the Chronicle, the Spanish prose romance and the *Filocolo*. In the prose romance, the returning voyagers are engulfed in a violent storm, the sailors dismantle the ship in the hopes of somehow being propelled to safety, and the company's safe arrival on the shores of an island (in spite of the total destruction of the ship) causes Flores, inexplicably, to assign their salvation to the will of Blancaflor's God:

Señora mia: Ya sabeis en cuántos trabajos somos puestos por nuestros pecados. Yo creo que la vuestra Ley es la buena verdadera, que Dios omnipotente, en tantas necesidades como nos habemos visto, él, por su santa clemencia, os ha querido oír, y de todas nos ha sacado. (118)

(My Lady: You already know how many trials we face on account of our sins. I believe that your Law is the good, true one, that omnipotent God, in all the emergencies that we have seen, has in his divine mercy heard you and delivered us.)

Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor combines a divinely ordained shipwreck with an additional miracle. After leaving the King of Babilonia's court, Flores and his fleet set out for Spain, encounter a violent storm, and Flores's ship is separated from the others, and the Chronicle tells us, “en dos dias fueron tan arredrados de todas las otras naues, que el maestro de la naue non podie saber en que logar estauan” (f. 41ra-b) (“in two days they were so far away from all the other ships that the captain of the ship could not ascertain where they were”). As described earlier, the events on this island inspire Flores's conversion to Christianity. When it is time to leave, the captain still does not know where they are, but “quando fue al terçero dia, aquella ora misma que llegaron ala ysla, conosco el maestro en que logar estaua” (f. 44ra) (“when it was the third day, that very hour in which they had arrived at the island, the captain realized where he was”),

The road to conversion

and they soon caught up with the boats from which they had been separated three months earlier.

Boccaccio employs the sea on numerous occasions as a metaphor for life, and even for the capricious fortune of love affairs, but there is only one shipwreck in his work. When Filocolo and his companions set out on the pilgrimage of love, they find themselves near death in a violent storm that renders their ship without mast, sails or rudder “and so no comfort remained to Filocolo or to anyone there, except to rely on the mercy of the gods” (IV:7). The entire group is close to death, but Ascalion the tutor remains cheerful and hopeful, for he “was frightened but did not consider this an unprecedented situation” (IV:9). Suddenly they are cast upon the shores of Parthenope, where they are saved. This leads the way to a scene of the utmost importance for the work, the garden where the thirteen questions of love are debated, but the shipwreck does not overtly lead to Christianity, as we will see shortly.

That the ship is an important image, and that Boccaccio was consciously engaged in evoking images of sea voyages, metaphorical and otherwise, is undeniable given the textual evidence. I would argue, moreover, that he was well aware of the implications and iconographic power of the rudderless ship, for he includes a most famous one in the opening of his work: the death-ship of Santiago de Compostela (Saint James the Greater), to whose shrine the parents of Blancheflor were headed in all the versions of the legend. Only Boccaccio, however, alludes to Saint James’s own sea voyage, but he conflates the legend of how Saint James’s corpse arrived in Spain – that is, in a rudderless ship in which Saint James’s body was miraculously conveyed to Galicia – with a living, military James, who fights and dies in Spain:

Then the Son of God . . . willed that the western shores should learn of his holy deeds. He chose that one of the aforementioned leaders who seemed strongest to him and best able to resist the infinite wiles he would encounter, and sent him over the waves to Hesperia in a ship which turned to marble. Arriving in that strange realm bearing the force of the supreme deity, and undertaking fierce battles with those who resisted him, he won many victories and outfitted many in the new armor of heaven. (I:3)¹⁰

¹⁰ There seems to be no evidence for the apostle’s military activity (his aid to the Christians in Spain is entirely posthumous and miraculous) and no documentation for the widely accepted theory (at least in Spain) that Saint James preached the gospel there and converted many

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

The popular version of the saint's arrival in Spain pertains to the body of iconography and folklore of the rudderless ship, and claims that

his followers put his body in a boat and set it out to sea to go where God willed, accompanying the body without guiding its journey. It arrived in Galicia in northern Spain, where its presence as a holy relic made the cathedral at Compostela the foremost pilgrimage shrine in western Europe (and St. James the patron saint of pilgrims). (Kolve 343)

Boccaccio's preoccupation with forced conversion and Christian militant zeal, as we will see in the concluding chapter, "Generic crossroads," necessitated the presentation of Saint James as a compelling figure of conversionary zeal, here as a knight unparalleled by others in his military prowess and duty to Christianity.

Boccaccio demonstrated great interest in the visual arts, not just in his rich descriptions of rooms, clothing, landscape and spectacles, but in his admiration for artists, particularly Giotto, whom he called, in the *Decameron*, "one of the lights of Florentine glory" and "the master of all living artists" (Day VI: 5).¹¹

Kolve does not mention Boccaccio in connection with Giotto, but, interestingly enough, he does inform us that Giotto produced a version of the Ship of the Church: "But the most famous rendering of the scene was a vast mosaic, the *Navicella*, designed by Giotto, which decorated the facade of the old Basilica of St. Peter in Rome; though it was destroyed in the seventeenth century, early sketches of it survive" (314). While it does not seem that Boccaccio's description of the Virtues in the Ship, witnessed by Filocolo, matches Giotto's *Navicella*, it does seem possible that the mosaic – representing, as it did, only one of the multiple renderings of the Ship of the Church – may have inspired the author to think in terms of such an image for his work. The ship that Filocolo sees is not all that unlike the one in Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*

people (Attwater, *Dictionary of Saints* 179 and Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* 222).

¹¹ Gathercole (29–31) discusses Boccaccio's interest in Giotto, saying that the two artists "do indeed introduce a new human reality that makes them precursors of the Renaissance," and suggesting that Boccaccio may have been influenced by Giotto in all the realistic aspects of his work, as seen in, for example, the photographic quality of the *Decameron* (31). Further evidence of Boccaccio's talent for rendering the visual in his written works comes from Jonathan Usher, who describes Boccaccio's familiarity with the rhetorical portrait device of *effictio* and *notatio* in his head-to-toe portraits, and especially the maturing process of the author's descriptive technique through self-correction and re-examination of past models from the *Filocolo* to the *Decameron*.

The road to conversion

("Pilgrimage of Human Life"), a work that Kolve believes to have been well known to Chaucer and, as Wenzel shows, was readily available in all of Europe: "Near the end of that work, when the pilgrim is in despair and weakened by sin, he sees approaching him a ship 'riht gret and wunderful'" (Kolve 313). The lady-teacher is Grace-Dieu, who explains that the mast is Jesus Christ and the wind the Holy Ghost, and "[b]ecause salvation can be found only on board that ship . . . the pilgrim's entry on board begins his spirit's movement, so long delayed, to a happy and holy death" (Kolve 313).

Filocolo enters a garden, and falling into a trance-like state, he witnesses the ship carrying seven women, who represent the Seven Virtues: Faith, Hope, Charity, Justice, Temperance, Fortitude and Prudence.¹² A lady, Grace, welcomes him, while a woman guiding the ship terrifies him, throwing Filocolo and two of the images of the dream-vision, Biancifiore and a youth, into the turmoil of the troubled sea. This resembles the "Pilgrimage of Human Life" in which Grace-Dieu overcomes the Fear of God that struggles to keep Pilgrim from entering the ship. After Filocolo boards the ship, the lady (Grace) cleanses him, after which "he seemed to have increased his vision thereby, and could both understand worldly and divine things better than before, and could love them each according to its worth" (IV:74). He then finds himself, along with the theological virtues, raised up the mast (Jesus Christ), so that he "seemed to pass up to the holy regions of the gods, and to understand the worthy bodies there, and their motions and size and all their power" (IV:74). Kolve describes a miniature from a fifteenth-century manuscript that could just as easily be describing Boccaccio's scene:

One possible response to the vision of the world as a perilous sea of fortune recommends a life of philosophical detachment and virtue. A Christian version of this can be seen in a miniature made in the fifteenth century for the *Livre de contemplation*, a treatise attributed to Jean Gerson, in which certain contemplatives, assisted by the virtues necessary to their undertaking (personified as young women), work their way to the top of a mountain in the midst of the sea and are rewarded by the sight of God's face; the rest of the world struggles in peril of shipwreck and drowning below. (330)

¹² Smarr (47), Cheney (476, n.5) and Kirkham (55) recognize that the seven ladies are the theological and cardinal virtues. My concern here, however, is not simply the identification of these figures, but that Boccaccio's use of the women on the ship partakes of a rich iconographic tradition that enhances our view of the unity of the entire work.

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

Filocolo is startled from his reverie by Ascalion and Parmenione, who have come to inform him that the sea has calmed sufficiently for them to continue their voyage.

If the motifs of pilgrimage, the garden and conversion confer imaginative unity upon *Il Filocolo*, the triptych of Filocolo's two dream-visions and the sojourn in Fiammetta's garden form the imaginative center of the work. Victoria Kirkham's intelligent and sensitive analysis of the *questioni d'amore* arrives at the indisputable conclusion that the garden scene is essential to the *Filocolo*; I would argue not only that it is essential, but that elements of the garden scene and its surrounding episodes – what I call the triptych – emanate from this center to the beginning and ending of the work. Kirkham notes that critics generally find the *questioni d'amore* to be an important episode, but one that seems out of place in the *Filocolo*. She concludes that the dream of the birds that precedes the garden scene is pagan and courtly, while the vision of the seven virtues is obviously Christian, and presages Filocolo's own conversion later (55). The garden scene functions as retraction, and infuses the issues of love with moral and ultimately Christian dimensions. Especially provocative is her recognition of the importance of the number seven here: Caleon's question is the seventh, and central, one of the debate and Filocolo achieves wisdom when he perceives the seven virtues. As Kirkham says:

Filocolo's prophetic conversion, accomplished in the presence of the seven virtues, adds another dimension to the seventh question and judgment in the debate. Seven comes to be a symbol of totality, for just as Filocolo's understanding was incomplete until he could see the second group of three ladies as clearly as the first group of four, so Fiammetta can say that Caleon is blind in his mind's eye if he believes that love for the sake of pleasure is admissible within the universal, all-embracing context of Christian morality. (55)

The particulars of Kirkham's conclusions are convincing as they stand, but they are even more so on the basis of further evidence: the use of the number seven (to be discussed in the next chapter), the presence of the flame over Fiammetta's head during the seventh question and the significance of the garden in general. As we saw earlier in this chapter, the garden in *Floire and Blancheflor* always functions as a hybrid of the sacred and the profane, the spiritual and the erotic. It is natural, therefore, that Fiammetta's garden should

The road to conversion

exhibit the double perspective of resolving amorous issues through a moral vision. The garden here, outside the city, continues the kind of timelessness generally associated with the garden in *Floire and Blancheflor*, a timelessness that attests its association not with a place or person in particular, but with edification about love, with or without its moral dimensions. By organizing the debate and setting the rules, Fiammetta and the others are, in effect, ordering their experience through the civilizing power of discourse, thereby creating a small, alternative civilization to the city (ironically juxtaposed to Caleon's city, as we will see in Chapter Four).

The dream about the birds that precedes the garden scene may or may not have autobiographical associations with Boccaccio, but it does have association with Filocolo's own story: without assigning a one-to-one correspondence between the various birds, the mastiff and the members of King Felix's court, it does seem to parallel what happened there. Felix and his henchmen seize Biancifiore (the pheasant) from Florio (the merlin), who then changes his identity (Florio to Filocolo, knight to pilgrim, merlin to turtle-dove) when he initiates his love-pilgrimage. That the turtle-dove is incapable of doing more than lament, trapped within the furious storm, may be interpreted as the insufficiency of desire alone, in the physical sense, to retain the object of desire. To turn to the third part of the triptych, it is when Filocolo identifies Biancifiore – and associates her – with the Seven Virtues that he himself acquires the necessary spiritual armor to recover her. The third scene, then, would imply that love of a woman and love of God require the same exemplary qualities, which parallels the message already proffered by Fiammetta in the garden.

Earlier in this chapter I mentioned that it might be considered unusual that the pilgrim and the convert be the same figure. In fact, in the genre known as the pilgrimage of human life, as defined by Wenzel and exemplified by Deguileville's "Pilgrimage of Human Life", the pilgrimage is precisely a journey to a kind of conversion. The genre is marked by moments that demonstrate a change not from a non-believer to a believer, but from a state of blindness and ignorance to one of a greater spiritual understanding. Wenzel's important article differentiates between works that merely employ the theme of humankind's pilgrimage on earth and a specific genre, and arrives at convincing evidence that such a genre indeed exists. Moreover, he concludes that the works he examines, in fusing various literary traditions, manifest an "encyclopedic urge to include all the

instruction necessary for a Christian existence as it was then understood" (387) and, while often boring to the modern reader, do provide striking examples of how the same features could be used over and over again in a variety of ways, much like "late medieval works of the visual arts, such as tapestries or Books of Hours, which similarly include all kinds of schemata and topoi in their overall programmes" (387). For our purposes, Wenzel's study is illuminating because it underscores the prominence of spiritual pilgrimages as material for writings of all kinds, and that the differences, while often of nuance, are, in fact, significant.

The evangelist Luke's account of the two disciples' journey to the village of Emmaus (24:13–35) became a paradigmatic spiritual pilgrimage, and one that has resonance for *Il Filocolo*. The story is that when the three Marys discovered that Christ's sepulchre was empty (Luke 24:1–12), two disciples set out that same day for Emmaus; while discussing the events of the preceding day, "Jesus himself drew near," "but their eyes were holden that they should not know him" (15–16). Jesus asks them why they are sad; they, in turn, ask him "Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass in these days?" (18). They recount to him the crucifixion, their belief that he came to save them, and the women's discovery of the empty tomb. The statement they make, "But we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel," was later taken by Augustine as occasion to rail against the non-believers; Gregory the Great, as we will see shortly, modified this to be doubters, not non-believers. Jesus then quotes to them from the scriptures; they arrive in the village, "he made as if he would have gone further," but "they constrained him, saying, 'Abide with us'" (28–29). As they broke bread together, the disciples' eyes were opened and they recognized him, whereupon he vanished. They ask each other, "Did not our hearts burn within us . . . when he made the scriptures plain to us?" (32).

Gardiner analyzes the predominance of the Emmaus story in Gregory the Great's writings on religious pilgrimage and the metaphor of the pilgrimage of human life and the profound influence that Gregory's writing had on later writers – of letters, liturgical plays, sermons and commentaries.¹³ Gregory's Easter Monday sermon treated the Emmaus journey, but it is in his *Commentary on the Song*

¹³ All of the interpretations of Gregory's intentions in his sermons, commentaries and letters that I include in this chapter come from Gardiner's study, *Pilgrimage of Desire*.

The road to conversion

of *Songs* and in his Pentecost sermon that he lingers over the significance of “journeying Emmaus-ward,” and he mentions Luke 24:32, which typically enthralled later commentators. Gardiner explains:

With various degrees of explicitness both passages clearly bring together the Emmaus journey with the patterned experience of pilgrimage. Whereas the Easter Monday sermon explicates the text of Luke, these two writings discuss experience in a general context, which turns out to be pilgrimage. Both passages are necessary to our view, for only in their combination do we see how regularly and with what effects Gregory spoke of the pilgrim life. (32)

Gardiner lists the following features as essential to the story: (1) When the stranger (who turns out to be Christ) approaches the two disciples, who are grieving for the slain Christ, they express astonishment that he is ignorant of the untoward events and ask how it is that he does not know what happened; (2) When the disciples arrive at the Emmaus house, the stranger “made as if to go further” but they pressed him – coerced him – to stay; (3) Their eyes are opened so that they recognize that Christ has been in their midst all along, and they recall how they felt in his company on the road to Emmaus.

For Gregory, this passage came to exemplify the purity and importance of friendship – even his own letters reflected what were for him the mandates to be found in the Emmaus journey – and the need, as he said, for hospitality: “Pilgrims are to be not only invited, but also drawn to hospice” (Gardiner 7 and *passim*). Gardiner distinguishes between Gregory’s glosses on this passage and those of Augustine, who, although also aware of the importance of hospitality, interprets the Emmaus journey not as the spiritual pilgrimage of life as Gregory perceived it – that is, of the doubters and their later moments of illumination – but of the unbelievers versus the believers, the damned and the saved. Again, all this is a product of nuanced interpretation, but it is important here for two reasons: first, there are narrative moments in *Il Filocolo* – specifically, the emphasis on drawing the pilgrim to hospice, the friendship that results, the stranger who does not recognize God, and the question of the burning heart – that I believe derive from the Emmaus story as Gregory interpreted it and not necessarily from Augustine (despite the fact that the convert, Filocolo, does go from being a non-believer to a believer); and secondly, the association that

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

Gregory made between Luke's account and its appropriateness as a sermon for Pentecost. There is no one-to-one correspondence between Boccaccio's work and Luke's scriptural account; some similarities occur, nonetheless, that appear to go beyond coincidence. Boccaccio may have derived his inspiration directly from Gregory, but may also have derived it from examples that had become commonplace in the works of many writers, and may even have been part of sermons preached in the author's time. Moreover, a student of canon law, as Boccaccio was at the time of the composition of the *Filocolo*, undoubtedly would have had access to much of this information, even if it were not circulating in a more accessible form, such as the popular sermon.

Time and again, Gregory distinguishes between a host's simple invitation and the insistence that should accompany that invitation. He stresses that the Scriptures say "Remain with us" and that the disciples pressed the guest to stay on. He consistently refers to the travelers as pilgrims – which is not in the Scriptures – a feature that (Gardiner explains) became an essential feature of the liturgical plays that borrowed from this interpretation, such that early English and Latin liturgical plays that recount the Emmaus story often carried the heading *Officium Peregrinorum*. As an Easter play, frequently performed on Easter Monday, it is interesting that the Emmaus journey came to represent a *peregrinatio hujus vitae* and was not overtly concerned with the theme of Resurrection, as one might expect. Gardiner attributes this emphasis to the influence of Gregory.

Boccaccio combines the entertaining of the pilgrim with the strong invitation to hospice. Filocolo prepares to leave the garden after having watched the festivities for some time, but Fiammetta speaks to him: "Since your coming has added greatly to our festivity, I want to urge you not to diminish it by leaving, but rather to *remain here with us today* [emphasis mine], to the final hour of what we have begun" (IV:15). Caeon then responds compassionately to Filocolo's sad tale: "he made them all honor him, not as a pilgrim and a man invited to their festivities, but as a leader and head of it, and the lady in particular ordered that this should be done when she had heard his story from Caeon, for she considered such adventures very precious to herself" (IV:16).

The idea of not recognizing God and the astonishment that one might feel on discovering the ignorance of another finds its parallel near the end of the story, when Filocolo enters the Church of Saint

The road to conversion

John Lateran in Rome. He gazes upon the image of the crucified Christ, not recognizing Him, but “letting his imagination range over this” (V:52). Ilario witnesses Filocolo’s rapt attention to the effigy, and “although he did not recognize him” he challenges him: “You are looking with great admiration at the effigy of the creator of all things, as if you had never seen him before” (ibid.). When Filocolo admits that this is true, Ilario asks: “And how can it be . . . that you have not seen him many times, if you are his servant?” After hearing Ilario’s long sermon on the ages of the world and the redemption of mankind by Jesus Christ, Filocolo experiences the burning heart that the disciples describe in the Emmaus passage. Finally, in the important matter of friendship, Ilario replaces Ascalion, Filocolo’s longtime friend and advisor, as the chief advisor to Florio, especially during the conversion of his kingdom after his return to Spain.

While all of these features could be the result of coincidence, it seems unlikely that they are, given the emphasis throughout Boccaccio’s narrative on Pentecost, which was Gregory’s occasion for examining the Emmaus journey. In sum, Gregory took the Emmaus journey to be emblematic of the following features of spiritual pilgrimages: love, desire, the word, the celestial fatherland, exile, and the desire for the heavenly fatherland. Desire was more than a yearning, it was a pull of opposites, expressed in the Emmaus story as presence and absence, possession and non-possession, a burning within that is fed by the word, but is not satiated.

Pentecost itself was a highly symbolic feast, as Nichols tells us:

In the ongoing narrative of Christ, [Pentecost] was the moment of extreme creative potency when the Trinity became a fully realized sign. As the feast of the coming of the Holy Spirit, the revelation of the Third Person of the Trinity, Pentecost signaled the commutativity of the Verbum, the Second Person, with human speech. It was Pentecost which gave man “the gift of speech,” that is, the ability of humans to represent in *their* speech the “speech of the Lord” (Acts 2:17). (*Romanesque Signs* 76)

Pentecost symbolized, therefore, “the origin of man’s ability to become an *imitatio Christi*” (ibid.). We will see in the next chapter how Boccaccio brings to the point of convergence many of the lessons of spiritual pilgrimage, the time-frame of Pentecost and its significance, both religious and literary, and the relationship of all of this to the Word.

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

IMAGERY OF NARRATIVE: REPRESENTATIONS OF CUNNING AND INGENUITY

If the previous section's emphasis on religious matters harks back to the earlier chapter on Divine Intervention, this section continues the discussion of *engin*, in all its forms as cunning, ingenuity, wit and guile. Although there are many, many sources behind the various versions of *Floire and Blancheflor*, I am concerned here in the main with privileged objects as narratives in and of themselves.

The *coupe troyenne* appears in the aristocratic French poem (485) and the Old Norse version with a lengthy description; the Middle English poem closely follows the description found in the aristocratic version. Iconography in the aristocratic French tale functions as inspiration: Filocolo, trying to find the courage to enter Biancifiore's tower-prison, gazes enviously at the carved Paris of the cup and then vows to save Biancifiore, as Paris did Helen. Shorter references are found in the popular French poem and the anonymous *Cantare*, which depicts "tucta la storia di Troja la grande" ("the whole story of Troy") (Crocioni 630–32). The Chronicle does not make specific references to lovers, but says merely that the cup had "entalladas muchas estorias antiguas de los gentiles e delos sus dioses" (f. 12rb) (engraved many ancient stories of the gentiles and of their gods"). The Chronicle does, however, include a description of an ornate cup, bejeweled with an emerald and ruby bird. The *Filocolo*, on the other hand, makes very little use of the descriptive potential of the Trojan cup – that is to say, Boccaccio does not provide as embellished a description as the French or Middle English versions – although the cup as an object is very important, as shown in Chapter Two, and the scene that Boccaccio chose to depict – Paris setting sail to find Helen – in fact parallels Filocolo's own journey (Smarr, *Boccaccio* 44–45), although the catastrophic consequences of Paris and Helen's love opposes the legitimate and ultimately happy love of Floire and Blancheflor (Leclanche 13).

Just as in the Middle English pious romance *Emaré*, where the magnificently woven robe inscribed with portraits of famous lovers helps to identify the heroine with these archetypal amatory heroes, the significance of the *coupe troyenne* – its status as the former property of Caesar, at least in the French stories, and its carved allusions to Paris and Helen – simultaneously refers to stories outside the text and elevates *Floire and Blancheflor* to the level of myth.

The road to conversion

Leclanche makes the interesting point that the cup in the aristocratic French assures or presages the *translatio imperii* that the narrative will unfold: having a divine origin (“Vulcan la fist”), it goes with Aeneas from Troy to Rome, to Caesar, then to the Orient, where it falls into the hands of Floire, a future king (13). Reiss quite rightly distinguishes between objects or symbols that have thematic significance in a work but not narrative or dramatic significance: they are “unessential to the immediate development of the story at hand” (340). Objects such as the cup and the tomb, and places such as the garden and the tower, however, properly belong both to general categories of “inscribed texts” and elements that attest to the power of cunning and ingenuity (*engin*) in several of the versions.

The cup, as it appears in the aristocratic French poem, the Chronicle and the *Filocolo*, does more than represent iconographically some thematic aspect of the story; it takes part in the narrative by moving it forward. Consider, for example, the journey of the cup: from Caesar’s treasures it found its way to the merchants who traded it to Floire’s father for Blancheflor; when Floire sets out to rescue his beloved, he takes the cup in case it should prove useful; as we know, when Flores engineers the outcome of the chess game, he offers the cup as reward to the guardian of the tower in which Blancheflor is being held captive; in the *Filocolo*, the cup makes a final appearance as one of the wedding presents offered to the couple.

The tomb has similar properties to the cup in that the elaborate ornamentation elevates the lovers to a mythic status. But the function of the tomb exceeds that of mere representation by its role as an element of the extensively-crafted deceit of Floire. Although stationary and non-recurring as opposed to the reappearing cup, the tomb forms part of the pattern of guile and deception, and the pattern of false or near-death and symbolic rebirth.

Another example of guile, the episode of the poisoned fowl presented to the king, becomes transformed in *Il Filocolo* into political allegory through its evocation of a literary tradition. As we saw in Chapter Two, the vows of the peacock, a chivalric tradition, become twisted in the pagan king’s plan to rid himself and his family of Biancifiore. This, we recall, occurs only in the *Filocolo*; while some of the other versions do relate the subtle plan to frame Blancheflor by means of a poisoned fowl, only Boccaccio makes that fowl a peacock and includes the vows sworn on the bird.

Given that the entire scene of the court – the banquet, the council,

the trial – has a strongly realistic quality to it, it would seem that Boccaccio converts a chivalric tradition to a contemporary political situation, thereby participating in a French literary tradition that undoubtedly was known to him. He subtly transforms the hero of some French works, the Emperor Henry VII, into the treacherous pagan King Felix, who rather blithely ignores the solemnity of the occasion of the vows of the peacock, which, by all accounts, was a ceremony taken very seriously (Blumenfeld-Kosinski). As Blumenfeld-Kosinski has demonstrated (“Historiography and *Matière Antique*”), Henry VII, who marched into Italy in 1310, was crowned in the Lateran in Rome in 1312 before besieging Florence, and died from poisoning, emerges as a new Alexander (who, we remember, was poisoned in *Les Voeux du paon*) in *Les Voeux de l’Epervier*: a transcodage of the *paon* cycle to the contemporary vows of the sparrowhawk. We know that the fourteenth-century *Voeux de l’Epervier* owes a great debt to Adam de la Halle’s thirteenth-century *Roi de Sicile* (Gégou). Recalling that the events of *Les Voeux de l’Epervier* revolve around the conflicts between Henry VII and Robert of Naples (who, for this later work, would seem to be based on the figure of the literary *Roi de Sicile*) there is a somewhat natural association of the chivalric vows sworn on holy birds – be they peacocks or sparrowhawks – with Robert of Naples, and, therefore, with Boccaccio’s text.

Further proof of Boccaccio’s intention to link his story to the French *paon* cycle can be found in the description of the royal hall of King Felix (II:32). It joins the tomb and the *coupe troyenne* as subtly crafted objects: it is magnificently designed with high vaults (“constructed with no little artifice”), and embellished with “the bones of Indian elephants, masterfully joined and wrought with subtle intaglios.” Within the room “ancient stories could be seen engraved in the shining marble by a supreme master.” Boccaccio’s knack for polarities is in evidence here: while, on the one hand, the “glorious victories of Alexander the Great” adorn much of the wall (and, we recall, Henry VII is a new Alexander in *Les Voeux de l’Epervier*), other scenes depict “the pitiless destruction of Thebes” and “both the destructions of the proud Troy,” which, within the narrative, prefigure the destruction of King Felix’s own kingdom not by fierce battle, but by the conversion of his son and heir, Florio, and the subsequent conversion of the kingdom – and allegorically refer to Henry’s defeat in Italy.

The road to conversion

Near the beginning of *Les Voeux de l'Epervier*, Henry suffers a terrifying dream in which two greyhounds put their paws in his mouth and tear his heart out, a dream that foreshadows Henry's violent death later in the poem.¹⁴ His wife comforts him, but beyond that, no interpretation is offered at this point. The opening of Book Two of *Il Filocolo* combines the guile of the gods – and the metaphor of poison – with a dream that presages the outcome of the entire tale. Venus charges Cupid with imbuing the young children with love, a “hidden poison” (II:2); Venus will distract the King so that he will not interfere with Cupid's masquerade. Her solution is to cause the King to fall into a deep slumber and dream of the love between a lion and a deer; the King offers the deer to a ravenous wolf, who is then torn to pieces by the lion, who fears for the life of the deer. The King then calls two gyrfalcons to him, and they bind the deer and carry her over the sea, where they deliver her to a mighty greyhound. When the greyhound discovers that the lion and the deer are bound by love, his rage almost destroys them, but it suddenly abates. They return to the land whence they came, where the King rejoices to welcome them: “Astonished by the things he had seen, he rose and marveled greatly, and thought about them at length. But then taking no further thought of them, he came to the royal hall of his palace at that time when Love had departed from his new subjects” (II:3). Certainly, there are vast differences between Henry's dream and that of King Felix, but Boccaccio does seem to have been influenced by the French work, and this scene blends the elements of poison (here, the poison of love), dreams of animals (especially important is the rage of the greyhound in both dreams), and the fact that the dreams are used to presage the final outcome of the poetic works, Henry's violent death in one and the triumphant return of Florio and Biancifiore in the other.

By inverting the association of the significant peacock, Boccaccio turns the narrative (and, specifically, the chivalric motif) against Henry VII. Instead of being the victim of a poisoned bird himself, as he is in the French stories that re-christen him as a new Alexander, Henry/Felix is shown to be a liar, a schemer, utterly without loyalty to honor, tradition and his word. This is evidenced by his cavalier manipulation of the ceremony of the vows of the peacock, whereby he causes all his courtiers to pledge loyalty to a woman that the King will soon force them to condemn to death in spite of their recently

¹⁴ For an excellent analysis of the significance of the dream within *Les Voeux de l'Epervier*, see Blumenfeld-Kosinski (“Historiography and *Matière Antique*” 23–24).

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

sworn pledges in her honor and their knowledge of her innocence. The ruler who is celebrated in the French tradition is here portrayed as the villain, and clearly far below Robert of Naples, who is governed, as we learn in the prologue, by Pallas, Wisdom.

An interesting feature in common links *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, *Il Filocolo* and *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*: these three prose works, as distinct from the many that are in verse, contain qualities that resemble the “mirror of princes” tradition.¹⁵ Since *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* was one of the earliest romances to be translated by Brother Robert into Old Norse, and critics such as Barnes express surprise that the prose romances include this feature, as it is not found in the presumed sources, it is possible that it was introduced through the influence of the Chronicle. Barnes hypothesizes that the northern translator was influenced by the books of instruction for kings and princes “which emphasized the importance of the ruler’s personal integrity and his judicial responsibilities” that “were very much in vogue in England and France at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth” and quite possibly to the liking and intention of the patron, Hákon, whose goal of stable government is widely acknowledged (“*The Riddarasögur*” 142).

Whatever their geographical and literary precedents, issues of good and bad government pervade both the Chronicle and the *Filocolo*. In the Spanish prose romance, only traces of this concern remain. For example, when Félix rues the love of his son for Blancaflor, it is precisely because he fears for his government. Telling the Queen why they must rid themselves of Blancaflor, he says:

Señora: Yo creo que en mal punto habemos criado esta doncella, que aquesta ha de ser causa de destruir nuestra Ley, que nuestro hijo Flores lleva camino de destruir nuestro Estado. No sé en qué manera los pudiese apartar, por quitar tan gran escándalo en nuestra tierra. (45)

(Madame: I believe that we were wrong to raise this maiden, for she will be the cause of the destruction of our Religion, for our son Flores is on the road to destroying our State. I do not know how to separate them, in order to avoid such a great scandal in our land.)

¹⁵ As was mentioned in Chapter One, Barnes recognizes other generic affinities: “If the literary spectrum is extended beyond the confines of classical Icelandic saga and French courtly romance, it will be found that the *riddarasögur* have unmistakable affinities with four other categories of medieval European literature. These are the *miroir de princes* tradition, the fifteenth-century prose romances of England and France, the Middle English metrical romance and, finally, the saint’s legend” (“*The Riddarasögur*” 142).

The road to conversion

This differs from the Old French and Middle English poems, in which the separation of the lovers occurs from the King and Queen's conviction that Blanche's bloodlines are not worthy of their son and not because they fear either for their country's religion or its government. The Spanish Chronicle follows the logic of the fear of inferior bloodlines, as well as not wanting their son to marry someone not of their religious beliefs (f. 9). The *Filocolo* offers a curious combination of reasons: loss of interest in studies and inferior bloodlines. Because the untimely death of Biancifiore's mother Giulia prompted the building of a tomb with the inscription that she was descended from noble Caesar (I:43), it is curious that the argument of "inferior bloodlines" comes up again (II:7).

Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor and *Il Filocolo* constantly make reference to issues of government, often the ethical dimension of leadership. As in almost every other instance, the *Filocolo* develops this even further than the Chronicle. The Chronicle begins with an injustice of earthly government. When Ysca miramomelin ("the Emir Ysca") denies his legitimate son Fines the inheritance of the kingdom in favor of his nephew, he cannot know, of course, that this injustice will lead to the Christianization of the Iberian Peninsula and the loss of Moorish rule. Good government arises elsewhere: as mentioned earlier, counsel and advice that refer to the methods of government occur frequently; during the trial of the lovers, the King of Babilonia is warned that refusing to honor his debt to Flores would be the mark of a bad ruler; as in the *Filocolo*, Gaydon, the tutor and Guarin, the Pope's representative (Ascalion and Ilario in the *Filocolo*) advise Flores in the manner of ruling wisely.

Certainly *Il Filocolo* is the work most overtly concerned with the education of the prince. That the opening scenes celebrate the rule of Robert of Naples and later, by implication, criticize his opponent Henry VII; that the work juxtaposes councils of various types, earthly, heavenly and infernal, with their concomitant messages of governing wisely, evilly or simply capriciously; and that Caleon's cure for having loved unwisely is to learn to create and govern a city well, all point towards a profound preoccupation with the question of government. And, while it is not unusual to find the apostles called "princes of the Church," it is probably not mere coincidence that Saint James the Greater is called, in the original Italian, "uno de' sedutti prencipi" (I:3) (aforementioned *princes*) and not, as

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

Cheney translated it (as quoted above), “one of the aforementioned leaders.”

Filocolo, however, is the one who most often benefits from the advice in the work. He is saved from the Admiral’s wrath when the latter is warned that flying in the face of the clear wish of the gods would be disastrous as well as being the mark of an unwise ruler. Filocolo returns to Spain armed with the qualities of personal growth fostered by his quest, and by the continuing wise counsel of Gaydon and the Christian counsel of Ilario. Boccaccio’s clear concern with government crystallizes in the moment when Florio’s father offers, from his deathbed, the advice that should guarantee his son’s ability to rule well.

Boccaccio’s keen awareness of the visual arts and of the possibility of transference from the plastic to the literary may have inspired some specific artistic descriptions, as we saw in the case of Giotto’s *Navicella*. For example, Boccaccio’s viewing of Ambrosio Lorenzetti’s frescoes at the public palace at Siena may have provided the form for King Felix’s examples of good government, according to Gathercole: “One sees painted there elaborate allegorical figures of Justice, Peace, and other civic virtues, among them a giant King, symbol of Good Government [...] The fresco is political in nature. Boccaccio inserted in the *Filocolo* some pages recalling these figures which deal with the basic rules of a successful government” (32). The irony that the formerly wicked king now gives sound advice on government to his son is somewhat mitigated when we realize that Felix’s counsel combines the sacred and the secular, as do many aspects of the work, and continues the dualities that we have come to expect in this Boccaccian narrative. Felix’s advice is, in fact, a description of the Seven Deadly Sins to be avoided at all costs, and the Seven Virtues to be followed, contained within the framework of how this personal avoidance will generate the best qualities of government. The advice presumably springs from the impulses of Felix’s conversion, for the King who transgressed the vows of the peacock is certainly not the king of whom this undeniable wisdom is seemingly an intrinsic part. Structurally, this scene finds its counterpart in Filocolo’s dream-vision of the Ship containing the Seven Virtues; thematically, the Seven Deadly Sins can be counterbalanced – indeed, overthrown – by acceptance of, and adherence to, those theological and cardinal virtues.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE NARRATOR

The narrator of the French popular version goes right to the point: he invites his audience of noblemen to enjoy the forthcoming tale of the love of Floire and Blancheflor and, especially, the military exploits and prowess of the young hero. The aristocratic French version establishes a fairly elaborate frame-device which distances the present narrator from the story by several figures. The narrator overhears two sisters discussing love. The elder sister regales the younger one with a love story that, she says, she has just heard from a clerk who took the two-hundred-year-old story from a written account. The version that we read is the narrator's remembrance of the tale told orally by the elder sister. The narrator addresses himself to a diffuse, but courtly, audience. As Krueger says:

The Prologue's circularity is apparent: the clerk's function mirrors the narrator's as he reads this tale to his listeners; the sisters and the narrator have all been an audience to the tale we will read or hear. The frame-device, unique to the first version, conflates reading or listening with learning about love, establishing the parallel between readers and lovers to be developed in the *enfances* of the protagonists. (66-67)

The frame-device as Krueger describes it is unique to the aristocratic version only if we consider a limited number of versions.

Since the Middle English manuscripts all lack the opening, it is impossible to know what kind of audience, if any, they addressed. The Old Norse version, written in prose, omits the prologue and plunges into the action of slaying the pilgrims. Barnes examines *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* from the point of view of the narrator and notes some similarities between this work and sagas in general, and therefore some notable differences between romance and saga ("Some Observations on *Flóres saga*"). The saga-writer "maintains an ostensible air of objectivity" (49); his intrusions are not as direct or engaging as those of the romance writer (50). They are, more often, genealogies which speak for themselves in identifying the time and place of the work (51). The sagas present character not in the black and white form of much romance, but "through speech, action, and the judgments of other characters" (51). Speaking directly of *Flóres saga*, she says: "Its external similarity to the family saga is largely the

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

result of the elimination or reduction of those elements in the original which contribute most to its sensual and idyllic atmosphere" (52). The hagiographic or pious material, which Barnes thought was unique to the Old Norse tale, occasions certain intrusions on the part of the narrator, such as his clarification that the King was so impressed by Blankiflúr's mother's explanation of Palm Sunday that he caused the babies to be named in honor of that feast. The translator of the Old Norse work portrays the lovers as exemplary Christians, living an exemplary life, a hagiographic transformation of the "happily ever after" of the French and Middle English poems. That *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* was other than a mere love story in its Scandinavian reworkings is confirmed by references to the lovers in another saga, *Sigurdur saga pögla*, which I shall consider in the epilogue.

The Spanish prose romance begins with a kind of "once upon a time" device: indeed, the story approximates fairytale in its opening description of Miçer Persio, the very rich and powerful lord of Rome who fell in love with the noble, sweet and lovely lady, Topacia. Their courtship and wedding, celebrated by no less than the Pope, caused great rejoicing throughout the land. This is the prelude to the failure of Topacia to conceive a child, to the prayer and vow to Santiago, the pregnancy and the pilgrimage, which initiate most of the other versions. The narrator's role is minimal, confined to such interjections as "God did not want this" or "It pleased God that this happened." The Chronicle and the *Filocolo* do, in fact, approximate the French version in the number of narrators suggested by the texts.

Rejecting the notion of *Floire and Blancheflor* as idyll, Edélestand Du Mériel says: "Il n'y a dans *Floire et Blanceflor* rien de national, rien de mythique, rien de profond. Toutes les aventures indiquent même une littérature épuisée, et manquent de naturel et de simplicité" (cxlii). On all these counts, *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* and *Il Filocolo* differ from Du Mériel's assessment of the French text. The two works share some unsuspected literary affinities even though the narrative goals appear to be quite different. The Chronicle, by its very identity as a Chronicle, attempts to inscribe the love story of Flores and Blancaflor within the universalist category of history and specifically within the history of Spain.¹⁶ It represents, moreover, part of

¹⁶ Uitti discusses the goal of the chronicles to create a national identity that, due to regional kingdoms and feuding nobility, did not exist: "The *Grandes Chroniques* elevate 'France' and 'French history' to the status of myth both 'national' and 'universalist'; the same can be said of the 'Espanna' of the *Crónica general*" ("A Note" 573). It would seem that the incorporation of the love story of Flores and Blancaflor into a history of the Moorish

The road to conversion

Christian history.¹⁷ Boccaccio's story, much longer than any other version and far from overtly historical, develops layers of inscribed texts, but he has the goal of linking his text to a universal, national, and personal history, in which he creates a complete literary world of its own: in one complete work he creates, more or less, a history of the Christian world from creation to a specific, and rather tiny, moment in time, the life of Florio and Biancifiore. In effect, in linking his compilation to the grander context of Christian history, the Spanish chronicler works from the inside to the outside; Boccaccio reverses this, beginning with the fall of the angels and moving inside, to the story of redemption of one couple, then one country. If Boccaccio elevates the love story of Florio and Biancifiore to mythic status, he does so, in part, by juxtaposing their tale with stories of the creation of the world, fallen angels and the fall of humankind. By including the details that Biancifiore's mother, Giulia, was descended from Caesar, while her father claimed as his ancestor the great Scipio Africanus, Boccaccio inscribes the love story within the larger framework of Roman history, and, as we will see, the story moves toward an evocation of Rome in her former glory as the imperial and religious center of the world. By joining the book within to the book without – the inner tale and the frame – the author inscribes his own love story within a not-very-humble context. In sum, Boccaccio fuses personal, national and universal history, by concretizing abstracts – love and desire – and developing multiple poetic discourses, all within the framework of pilgrimage and conversion, the staples of Christian history on earth.

The narrator's role is a mutable one: in the frame story, he recounts that, after he had fallen in love with a lady and discussed the beautiful story of *Floire and Blancheflor*, the lady charged him with committing

kingdoms of southern Spain helps to bring this exotic part of the peninsula into line with a more uniform "national" history. As we will see in the next chapter, this historicization functions in tandem with the Christian notion of *communitas* and the salvation of the individual soul.

¹⁷ Uitti considers the Alfonsine historiographical productions and the *Grandes chroniques* as two parallel creations of Romance vernacular history. He calls both of these works examples of a complex mode that he terms "poetic vernacularization" (ibid. 579), in which the authors/chroniclers invent "an on-going, permanent, and vernacularly legitimate 'national' people" (580). This explains why the "*Crónica general* treats the Muslims (at least theoretically) as disruptive interlopers – as being symbolic of illegitimacy and, therefore, not truly part of Spanish history" (580–81). The author of the *Flores y Blancaflor* chronicle – which is, after all, a reworking of an Alfonsine chronicle – transforms the "disruptive interlopers" into the ancestors of Christian Spain and subordinates the true history of the Moorish kingdoms to an account of these kingdoms as pre-Christian rather than of another religion.

the story to writing, so that it would not remain solely as an oral text, which presumably could be changed at will or even forgotten. Within the inner frame, there is a variety of narrators with histories to relate, which I shall discuss later in this chapter. In Book Five, Filocolo meets the priest Ilario, who takes him through the ages of the world, ending with Pentecost, so moving him spiritually that he desires to be converted to Christianity. A series of episodes results; Ilario accompanies the newly baptized Florio (who has now abandoned the pseudonym Filocolo in favor of his former name) to Spain, where the coronation of the young king and the conversion of Spain takes place. It is only in the very last chapter (V:96), before the *congedo*, that we learn that Ilario returned to Rome and wrote down everything that had happened. The narrator informs us at the end that all criticism of the “pleasant matter” of the tale should be forestalled when the critics are offered the “long labor of Ilario as evidence of its truth” (V:97).

In the Chronicle, the narrator refers to the previous *estoria* of one Sigiberto, possibly Gilbert of Gembloux or “el maestro Sujulberto,” who is mentioned in the *Grán Crónica de Alfonso XI* as the author of the no longer extant *Historia de Africa* (Catalán, “*La Estoria de los Reyes*” 347–48). In evoking another authority, our narrator does very little besides provide straightforward transitions between chapters: “we will now turn to the wars in the kingdom of Ysca miramomelin”; “let us now return to the story of Flores and Blancaflor,” a kind of “bare bones” treatment that rivals the author of the medieval Icelandic “First Grammatical Treatise,” who apparently also felt that transitional material was essential: “Here I conclude my discussion of the vowels, and, God willing, I shall try to say something about the consonants” (cited in Schach 135–36 and Clover 160). The Spanish Chronicle’s narrator does not provide much in the way of commentary about what the previous narrator, Sigiberto, thought: almost all references are the simple “cuenta Sigiberto en su estoria” (“Sigiberto tells us in his history”), and one piece of evidence of the provenance of the story: “E segunt cuenta Sigiberto, vn sabio que saco esta estoria del fecho de Flores e de Blancaflor de arauigo...” (f. 8vb) (“And as Sigiberto relates, a wise man who took this story of the history of Flores and Blancaflor from Arabic ...”). For most of the story the narrator, it would appear, recalls Sigiberto for nothing more than to give his present tale an authoritative basis for inclusion in the Chronicle. In fact, the narrator is much more of a presence than Sigiberto, for the narrator himself recalls events that took place at

earlier moments of the text, and makes predictions of how certain things will come to pass, and the significance of those things, and what we will hear when we move from the present story to the later ones, especially that of Berta. But an interesting change appears at the end of the narrative: we learn that Sigiberto was an eyewitness in Córdoba, of which he was a native, to the coronation of Flores.

Although the intentions of the authors of the various versions are surely different, and the frames that the French romance, the Spanish Chronicle and Boccaccio's opus devise are worlds apart, there is a common feature: all refer to a written text that preceded the present account and that is, naturally, unavailable to us for direct consultation. Both the aristocratic French poem and *Il Filocolo* state from the outset that the forthcoming narrative passed through an oral stage, but only the Chronicle and the aristocratic French admit at the very beginning that there is a written source. Finally, only the *Filocolo* and *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* announce an eyewitness to the events at the end of the story, and both eyewitnesses, it turns out, recorded their accounts for posterity.

The question of continuation and textual lineage will be considered in the Epilogue, but we should at least mention how the various narrators invite or suggest continuation. We can dispense rather quickly with the Old Norse and popular French poems and the Spanish prose romance: the Old Norse version makes no reference to the Charlemagne cycle (or any other heir) and the story ends with the translator's invocation; the popular French poem begins with the pilgrimage of a married French couple and tails off in the Admiral's court; the Spanish prose romance ends with the crowning of Flores as the Holy Roman Emperor and, we are informed, Spain was left to the able government of the couple's son and only heir, Gordión. No tale of Gordión exists (or, at least, remains extant) in Renaissance Spain, so it is to be assumed that the Spanish author intended to relate an isolated incident, the Christianization of Spain through the efforts of the formerly Muslim Flores. *Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor* is suggestive of a larger historical context, but there is no narrative guidance to another text.

The aristocratic French version claims that Floire became the King of Hungary, and that their daughter was Berthe, who married Pepin and gave birth to Charlemagne. Boccaccio, as explained above, creates a unique world of genealogical connections, but the *Filocolo* does not lead the reader to any other text, nor is there any hint that the lovers

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

as he portrayed them belong to the Charlemagne cycle. The Chronicle makes definite statements of dynastic connections between the story of *Flores y Blancaflor* and the history of the Moorish Kings of Spain, as well as the future dynastic development that led to the Carolingian empire. The Chronicle is the only version of the love story that comes to us in a larger text in which all the stories are intimately connected, perhaps because it is the only surviving version to take on the appearance of a chronicle, which, by definition, implies connections of chronological events. We will consider *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* separately in the Epilogue.

NARRATIVE DISCOURSE IN *IL FILOCOLO*: READERS, WRITERS AND STORYTELLERS

If literary reflectivity can be found in *Floire et Blancheflor*, as Krueger first demonstrated, it thoroughly informs Boccaccio's work. A separate book could be written on the ways in which Boccaccio interlaces speaking, reading and writing through the main storyline and the many digressions. *Il Filocolo* may be many things, but it is not a rambling text that lacks specific unity; the negative literary criticism that the work has received is not unlike the situation found in Scandinavian studies regarding the poetic worth of the *riddarasögur* and the structure and unity of the Icelandic family sagas, both of which have recently begun to enjoy re-evaluation in light of new definitions of narrative parameters and generic affinities.¹⁸ The *Filocolo* is long and seemingly unwieldy, but the juxtaposition of its content – specifically the *Floire and Blancheflor* material – to that of the version it most closely resembles, *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, enables us not only to determine Boccaccio's precise areas of inventiveness, but to interpret better the additional material, with the consequence that we will find the *Filocolo* to be unified and carefully constructed. The Chronicle contains none of the specific digressions from the *Floire and Blancheflor* material that are found in the *Filocolo*,

¹⁸ Lee Hollander wrote, for example, that turning from *Islendingasögur* to *riddarasögur* was "like passing from the fresh and vital atmosphere of the outdoors to the sultry and stale air of the boudoir" (780). But Barnes, in 1975 and 1977, convincingly argued for an evaluation of *riddarasögur* on their own terms and not as compared to *Islendingasögur*, which are, quite simply, differently composed and with different intentions. Regarding the Icelandic family sagas, Paul Schach, Kathryn Hume ("Beginnings and Endings") and, more recently, Carol Clover have analyzed the composition of these works in innovative ways that permit the uniqueness of the sagas to stand, while demonstrating that they do, in fact, belong to the larger framework of Continental medieval literature.

The road to conversion

although, as mentioned above, it too is marked by techniques of digression by virtue of its incorporation into a larger context, a history of the Moorish Kings of southern Spain.

In this section, I examine the digressions in *Il Filocolo*, as well as some other narrative moments, within the context of readers, writers and storytellers, in order to begin to underscore Boccaccio's overwhelming preoccupation with the word and problems of communication and interpretation. Within the category of writers and storytellers are included the supposed author and compiler, the protagonist Filocolo, the events of the amorous garden and the digressions in general, especially those of Idalogos and the four maidens, Fileno, and Caleon. For my purposes, the acts of reading and of interpreting dreams and visions constitute a similar activity because they both function significantly as a prelude or impulse to action or to speech-as-action, and when they do not, there is a specific reason why not. Included in the discussion are the "readers" of dreams – Filocolo, Biancifiore and the King – and various other interpreters: Fiammetta, the above-mentioned characters and the narrator himself. The narrator of the *Filocolo* is profoundly concerned with the education of the reader, as is shown by the growing importance, as the text progresses, of the moral dimensions of discourse and the accretion of skill in speech and interpretation that the characters – particularly Filocolo – demonstrate. It is a work that addresses itself to inscribed readers (or listeners) and, by the nature of its prologue and *congedo*, fully expects to find its way to readers other than the single one for whom the book is composed.

On the subject of the implied reader in a text, Iser states: "The concept of the implied reader designates a network of response-inviting structures, which impel the reader to grasp the text. No matter who or what he may be, the real reader is always offered a particular role to play, and it is this role that constitutes the concept of the implied reader" (34–35). One of Boccaccio's stated goals is to engage the reader in the active participation of reading and interpreting, just as the characters within the work are invited, and then educated, to do. We will see, in fact, that their education is to be ours as well, so that we, like the lady for whom the book is composed, recognize that the role of the reader entails a moral as well as a literary responsibility, and that the intelligent combination of the moral and intellectual represents the highest form of education.

On a simple level, he does this through dreams that are left

uninterpreted in the text. An interesting feature of the text is the characters' propensity for ignoring dreams and showing little interest in the act of interpretation. As the first example, we have the disturbing allegorical nightmare of the King; his response is to think no more about it upon awakening. Narratively, this serves both as an invitation and as a warning. As readers, we experience a desire to order what we are reading so that it is meaningful, and the lack of offered interpretation should initiate the use of our own imaginative and interpretive faculties. It is cautionary, we find, because the dream holds the key to the entire narrative – it is, obviously, a greatly condensed version of the trials and tribulations of Florio and Biancifiore and their ultimate restoration to home and community – and the King, who shows no interpretive skill and little if any curiosity, finds at the end of the story that the dream has come true.

What we find in the *Filocolo* is an increased awareness of how to move from passive witness to dreams and visions, to skillful interpreter, thereby transforming the act of interpretation into the impulse for morally directed action. In the garden where the thirteen questions of love are debated, Fiammetta and the others offer interpretations of stories, with Fiammetta concentrating on the moral aspect of the narrative and controlling the discourse so that the others address the significance of what is related. This event seemingly awakens Filocolo to a spiritual awareness, for immediately following it he experiences the vision of the Seven Virtues. He does not dismiss it, as he did the bird-dream, but he does not openly interpret it either.

As mentioned before, the question of Floire's advisers will be more thoroughly discussed in the next chapter, but it is worth considering here the juxtaposition of the two visions and the events of the amorous garden. If Ascalion has functioned for Filocolo as a kind of Dantean Virgil up to this point (Wallace 152), his guiding powers are limited. Ascalion does offer advice and consolation to Filocolo throughout the work, and he remains calm in the face of the raging storm at sea, but he is mute when it comes to interpreting Filocolo's dream that precedes the *brigata*. (The *brigata* is a gathering of young people in a garden for pleasant and edifying conversation and storytelling; the episode is a precursor for the design of Boccaccio's later work, the *Decameron*.) The dream is a reflection of the imperfect quality of Florio's love for Biancifiore because it lacks the spiritual qualities he has yet to acquire, and therefore Ascalion cannot interpret it. Moreover, at the *brigata* it is Ascalion who chooses the sovereign

for the event, crowning Fiammetta with a garland of laurel. Since we know that Fiammetta's words – the moral character she infuses into her speech – will profoundly transform Filocolo's way of thinking, the crowning functions almost as a *translatio* of Ascalion's role as guide to Fiammetta as the new guide of discourse.

The story of Idalogos, quite apart from any autobiographical import it may hold, stands as another transitional moment in the text, because he functions not only as a storyteller (of his own life) but as an interpreter of signs: in other words, not only does he relate his tale chronologically and realistically, he offers the significance of the events. For example, as he explains his former interest in learning – science, among other things – he explains that he forgot these higher goals when love ensnared him, and he dedicated himself to capturing the lady and learning “under my new master how artful words might have power to move human hearts” (V:8). He wins her, but she later abandons him “with the inconstant faith of feminine hearts, when a new pleasure was prepared for her eyes” (V:8). Venus, wishing to relieve his sorrow as a grieving human, transforms him into a tree, and Idalogos offers a lengthy interpretation of this sign for Florio and Bianciflore that begins: “And the condition of this tree was no change from my nature, if one considers it properly. More than any other neighboring tree, it extends its summit toward the stars, just as I once extended myself, all intent on heavenly things” (V:8). Ironically for him, in spite of his learning and knowledge of the power of words and poetry, his powers of interpretation come too late to save him, for he fails to recognize that the lady he loves employs discourse in a far more artful and destructive way than he does, because her words ultimately demonstrate the fragility and instability of language when it is not divinely inspired, as we shall see. Idalogos' condemnation of women and their inconstancy as the reason for his present condition, rather than a recognition of the guile of language and the futility this guile engenders, is undermined by his own history: in recounting his life to the two lovers, he explains that his father, the shepherd Eucomos, brought the playing of music to new heights as a seductive art, thus winning the fair Gannai, daughter of a king. In the description, music and words are inseparable: “His songs became every day more filled with sweetness, as if increased by the subtlety of a greater craftsman . . . and changing his singing into words true and sweet he revealed his love for her, adding enticements and promises . . . and none the less he promised her that he would never let his singing

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

come to other ears than hers unless she wished it" (V:8). Having achieved his desire, and having received a son from Gannai, Eucomos promptly abandoned them for another woman.

We learn from Idalogos that a company of young men and women, while sitting under his branches, recounted the story of Florio and Biancifiore and their perfect love. Idalogos now praises Biancifiore: "You alone are good, you alone worthy of honor; I believe there is no other living woman your equal" (V:9). He asks them to find out the condition of the woman who scorned him, because he learned from a passerby that she had been transformed into marble but he continued to hope that her hard heart might be moved to pity him.

This initiates another long digression, that of the four maidens, recounted by two young maidens who are basing their knowledge on the oral history of the elders of their village. When we consider their story, two themes emerge: language and power, especially the power of language. The four women, Asenga, Alleiram, Airam and Annavoi, brag about their beauty and power, and the various weaknesses of the gods and goddesses. The stories all deal with women's power over men, which the women express through their ability to speak persuasively and with guile. Alleiram, the deceiver of Idalogos, claims: "I do not show that I am refusing anyone, but give vain hope to all of them alike with my playful glances, and thereby I trap them all in the web of pleasure, not hesitating to give and receive amorous words" (V:19–20), and "we who do have power, we ought to be honored [as opposed to gods or goddesses such as Venus]; and that I do I have already shown, and as I have said, I intend to show it yet more cruelly" (V:20). Annavoi boasts: "I bound them so in my nets, through the beauty of my glancing eyes and the sweetness of my speech (for which I deserved to be called Siren), that after making them throw away the bows with which they had earlier served Diana ... I left them without life" (V:23). The goddesses who have been maligned by the four women wreak havoc on their lives by transforming them into white marble beside a fountain, a tree, a bramble bush and a flowering plant.

The reunion of Filocolo and Caleon follows this digression. Caleon, we learn, is bitterly disillusioned by the outcome of his love for Fiammetta. It is an important narrative moment – indeed, as we will see when we examine time and space in the next chapter, every event after the lovers' departure from Sisife's inn is marked by some importance for the tying up of the narrative – because it introduces

The road to conversion

the theme of charity, the idea of the homology between linguistic, political and social orders, and demonstrates all that Filocolo has learned in his quest. Each of the remaining episodes in the work is interrupted by another that in some way resolves earlier dilemmas or questions.

The story of Fileno is a good example. Initially introduced in Book III as a rival of Florio for Biancifiore's affections, the spurned Fileno disappears from the narrative, only to reappear in Book IV, in a chance encounter with Filocolo at the start of his search for Biancifiore. Fileno, now a talking fountain, explains that after he left Montoro, he implored the gods to end his suffering. Their response was to transform him into the vessel of his own tears. The tutor Ascalion promises that, after they find Biancifiore, they will return to Fileno and help him. This, in fact, does happen in Book V, and the key to the metamorphosis of Fileno is Biancifiore's forgiveness of his pursuit of her and his lamentations against her for not having accepted his advances.

The restoration of Fileno to human form is immediately followed by the encounter with the feuding people who are more like savages than humans; whereas Fileno loses his humanity through a metamorphosis into an inanimate object, the people of this wild area are even less human, for they lack order and civilization, and even clothing. The discovery of these people provides Filocolo with the opportunity to demonstrate his own increased capacity for reasoned speech, and to anticipate his abilities to govern well and wisely when he later inherits his father's kingdom. It provides Caeon with a noble diversion from his aimless wanderings and lamentations of lost love.

The building of the city frames a most important vision in the *Filocolo*: Biancifiore's dream of Rome. Whereas chaos and disorder form the metaphorical center of the episode of the brutish people, the vision of Rome in her glory is at the structural center of the episode. Glorizia implores Biancifiore to persuade Filocolo to visit Rome, but Biancifiore rebukes her by saying that as a wife she must subordinate her desires to those of her husband, and it is Filocolo's fondest wish to return to his homeland. A majestic lady appears to Biancifiore that night, flanked by an old man who holds keys and a book and gazes heavenward, and a younger man who is clearly a warrior – obviously the city of Rome supported by the Pope and the Emperor. Much of the Italian literature of this period was characterized by a yearning for Rome in her glory, and a recognition of her near-perfection as the

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

city on earth that most closely represented the heavenly Jerusalem, the new Jerusalem of Revelation.¹⁹ Indeed, medieval peoples believed that the longing to see Rome, which is associated with pilgrimage and is found in many literary examples, was an enactment of the Christian soul's longing for the eternal homeland.²⁰ The decline of this religious and imperial center clearly troubled many authors, especially Dante, who continued to portray Rome in her former glory, or to evoke the Rome of old and call for her restoration. Even Petrarch, we recall, when named poet laureate, refused to be crowned in Paris, but insisted on having the ceremony in Rome.²¹ Boccaccio's evocation of Rome is no less pointed: when Ilario reasons with the slain Lelio's relatives to forgive Florio for his father's sins against them, one of his main arguments is that Florio's conversion and marriage to Biancifiore could aid in the restoration of Rome to her former grandeur as the imperial center because the kingdom of Spain could be added to Rome's power. "Just think what a consolation and glory it will be to you to see a niece in a royal household! It could yet increase our republic, since her spouse could subject his realm to the Roman Empire, as was formerly the case" (V:66).

Biancifiore ponders the significance of her dream and relates it to Filocolo, who alters his desire to return to his homeland in order to allow Biancifiore to see hers. This is the first time that a vision has been correctly interpreted and that the characters actually change their intended action because of it, so it is a great step forward in the learning process. Filocolo delays only to finish overseeing the foundations of the new city and then they travel to Rome, where they conceal their identity from Biancifiore's relatives out of fear of revenge for the slaying of Lelio, and tour the marvels of that great city.

¹⁹ I refer here to the idea of the city as the seat of the Papacy and therefore the center of Christendom. Rome as image is not without its ambiguity, for pagan Rome was known as the destroyer of Jerusalem, while Christian Rome under the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope was the glorious military and spiritual stronghold of Christianity. See Charles T. Davis, for example, for an examination of the images of Rome in Dante.

²⁰ See Kolve for several literary examples of this (499–500, nn117 and 118). For example, he says about the Rome of Augustine's *City of God* that "even in its degeneracy and defeat, the City of God exists within it in the hearts of the faithful, a greater city that will be separated from the other only at the end of time" (499–500) and that "Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, p.16 (30–31), plays wittily with the idea that a journey to Rome is like a journey to heaven because the Pope is in that city" (500).

²¹ See Davis for a summary of Dante's depictions of Rome, Babylon and Jerusalem; for Petrarch's evocations of, and nostalgia for, Rome, see Smarr, "Petrarch: A Virgil Without a Rome."

The road to conversion

While in a “lovely temple” (the Church of Saint John Lateran), Filocolo gazes upon the image of the crucified Christ, not knowing what to think. Ilario silently watches and then, hearing that Filocolo is ignorant of all that surrounds him there, begins to tell the story of his God, related through the six ages of the world, ending with the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and the descent of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles. As Filocolo and Menedon (one of King Felix’s barons, who accompanied Filocolo on his quest) listen in amazement, Ilario sums up the beliefs of his people with the Creed.

We will see in the following chapter on time and space how Boccaccio brings together the many threads of topics that he has introduced earlier in the work, but for now suffice it to say that Ilario’s sermon and Filocolo’s speech bring to a crescendo a major theme of the work: the power of discourse, specifically divinely empowered discourse.

To return for a moment to Idalogos’ story and that of the maidens, we can summarize what we learned from both: not an outright rejection of human love, but a rejection of love that renounces learning and engenders a language that is devoid of moral dimensions. When used only to seduce and deceive (as Idalogos did when he abandoned his learning of the sciences and as the maidens did exclusively), and for no higher purpose, language is empty and impoverishes those who employ it. Idalogos teaches Filocolo that there is a power to language and that language in the service of moral interpretation – as he interprets his metamorphosis into a tree – is valuable.

In the beginning of *Filocolo*, shortly after Racheio teaches the children the alphabet and to read the holy book of Ovid (as it is called in *Filocolo*), the hidden poison of Venus causes them to lose all interest in learning, as evidenced by the repeated action of closing their books whenever their tutor is not watching them, and by their loss of language:

Racheio came to give his dear pupils their lesson. When he entered the room he admonished them solemnly, and began: “What is this new behavior, that I see your books shut in front of you? What has happened to your eagerness to study?” The bright faces of Florio and Biancifiore became like crimson roses from their shame at this unaccustomed rebuke, and they opened their books; but their eyes were more desirous of effect than of cause, and were distracted and turned toward the beauties they desired, and their tongues (which

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

normally recited clearly the verses before them) babbled confusedly.
(II:4)

The children's schoolroom resembles the Biblical Tower of Babel, and the entire story becomes a process of the recovery of language and a recognition of true learning. It is after the reading of the book of Ovid, we recall, that Florio closes the book for the last time, and learning and reading are suspended. From that point on, the "reading" practiced by the characters in the text is the interpretation of dreams (or, more accurately, their non-interpretation for the most part) and a sharpening of the linguistic skills that attest a higher sense of order and learning. There is one moment in the text when Filocolo's early learning helps him speak well. When Sadoc the Castellan asks Filocolo what he would like of him, Filocolo is fearful and speechless:

By chance [he] recalled a verse he had once read in Ovid, where the author chides fearful men by saying, "Fortune aids the bold, and refuses the timid." And seeing clearly that this man stood between himself and the object of his desire, and that he had to speak to him if he wanted to receive his help, he gave power to his yearning heart and began to let out his words. (IV:101)

The learning and wisdom he exhibits at the end of the story result from growth during his quest and, as we shall see, from divine inspiration. The turning points are a change in geographical direction and a change of religious or moral direction, both the result of interpreting, or understanding, well: the acceptance of the importance of Biancifiore's vision of Rome signals a geographical diversion from the route to Spain to that of Rome, while the understanding of Ilario's story inspires the conversion that brings the story to a close. The entire tale becomes an artfully crafted design of the relationship of linguistic order, personal integrity, the founding of cities and the relationship of all of the above to moral direction.

CONCLUSION

We will be able to make further conclusions about the function of the reading, writing and storytelling within the various versions in the next two chapters. We can, however, begin to move towards that goal on the basis of what has already been discussed in this and previous chapters.

The road to conversion

The several versions of *Floire and Blancheflor* bespeak of differing motivations and goals. And while any succinct articulation of those goals includes, of necessity, injustices to the artifice and crafting of the works, we can see, nonetheless, certain tendencies. The aristocratic French and the Middle English poems are among the more literarily playful because, as we saw in the section on cunning and ingenuity, they capitalize on the elements of guile and wit in a manner that does not focus on the seriousness of pagan/Christian relationships. The popular French poem, on the other hand, is a more serious work in the sense that it foregrounds combat and battles; certainly the intent is still entertainment, but the means of providing that entertainment has shifted. Konrad von Fleck's version propounds an authentic religious vision without the sense of playfulness found in other versions. The Chronicle, probably because of its epic origins and because it is the version for which the events of such pagan-Christian conflicts had the most actuality, situates the love story within a believable – indeed, historical – context. The playful elements are not completely absent, but the story is contextualized within the very serious framework of the Christianization of Spain. The Greek version and the Spanish prose romance, which are more or less identical, highlight a moral vision, but it is clearly within the context of the conventional happy ending of much medieval romance. The *Filocolo* of Boccaccio presents a unique case.

Compared to Boccaccio's other works, *Il Filocolo* remains, quite justifiably, one of the *opere minori*, but measured against the backdrop of the legend of *Floire and Blancheflor* (and this by no means takes away from those versions), the *Filocolo* emerges as a work of no little achievement. The proliferation of literary subtexts and iconographic images, and the quantity of narrative levels, which are often at odds with one another, should be our greatest clue to understanding the work: to seek narrative or thematic consistency in the *Filocolo* will be to search in vain. Take the case of Florio, for example: Boccaccio charts a person who, for all his pompous and lofty verbiage, grows into his own individuality. Even though the results – marriage, conversion and kingship – replicate those found in other versions, the progress towards these results, circuitous as it may be, permits the character a fair amount of self-exploration that leads to self-knowledge. By the same token, Boccaccio permits himself no little amount of literary experimentalism, which accounts, in part, for the authorial instability of the work. In spite of the recognizable autobiographical

Signs, wonders and the telling of the tale

similarities of the narrators to Boccaccio in this and other works, it is essential to recall, as Robert Hollander reminds us, the ironic distance between Boccaccio and his narrative spokesmen (*Last Fiction* 25). It is essential, also, to allow for something other than a singular moral vision and univocal perspective in *Filocolo*. To do otherwise ultimately reduces Boccaccio's considerable achievements in *Filocolo* in his transformation of the legend of *Floire and Blancheflor*. Instead of a work in the service of a Christian truth, in the sense of a totalizing discourse that embraces both frame and inner tale, Boccaccio seems more concerned with the service of artistic freedom (and, through Florio, for example) individual freedom, and perhaps more specifically, the limitations that each embodies, so that the work has a philosophical context as well as a literary one. Boccaccio accommodates the multiple discourses of the text by constantly renegotiating the parameters of the love story and the form of his work. This would help to explain, for one thing, why the text often seems to be at odds with itself in terms of love relationships and religious systems. The *Filocolo* is a polysemous work (as we have seen here and in the previous chapter) whose subtext is power: the power of love and of the word, the relationship between the two and the relationship they hold to conversion.

Routes of conversion: time and space

If Chapter Three asked “What is remembered by the reader?” in terms of images and allusions, this chapter asks “What is remembered by the text itself?” There are two major sections: first, the chapter summarizes how the texts of *Floire and Blancheflor* conflate notions of time and space through the linking of beginnings and endings, and considers the larger issue of genealogy and textual lineage, the circularity of the pilgrimage motif, and the use of the garden within the time-frame of the Lenten season; secondly, because so many of the narrative moments in both *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* and *Il Filocolo* coincide (even though as this study has repeatedly attempted to elaborate, the authorial intent of each differs) it examines those moments. For the sake of avoiding repetition, I will limit the discussion of the two works in the more general first section of this chapter.

MORAL GEOGRAPHY AND SPIRITUAL REDEMPTION

Ritual and sacred space are linked in *Floire and Blancheflor* with a geographical process and the concepts of moral and spiritual redemption. This linking process forms the core of the southern and Old Norse versions of the legend. Just as people are converted – a kind of spiritual, emotional or rational transformation – spaces in the story are converted. Often, but not always, the moral significance of a place ties in with an episode of false or near-death, which in turn is associated with a moral or spiritual death whose reversal lies in the near narrative and temporal future.

Geography is rather muddled in the aristocratic French and Middle English poems – not unusual for romance – so the significance is more archetypal than narratively delineated. On the other hand, the moral significance of geography and the episodes of death and rebirth become much more complex in the *Filocolo* and in *Crónica de Flores y*

Routes of conversion: time and space

Blancaflor, and more overtly significant in the prose romance, although none of these works is without its muddled aspects of geography. The most salient example of this feature of the southern and Old Norse versions – and, to a lesser extent, the aristocratic French and Middle English poems – is the triangular movement between pagan Spain (King Felix's court), the tower and garden in Babylon/Alexandria and the return to Spain, which Floire transforms into a Christian kingdom. At the core of this geographical process are, of course, the spiritual redemption of Floire and his people and the triumph over people and events that assailed the hero and heroine from the time they fell in love.

As Calin has demonstrated, the author of the French aristocratic version includes four ideal landscapes: Floire's father's garden, the grove encircling Blanchefleur's tomb, the Elysian Fields where she awaits her lover, and the sultan's garden in Babylon (Calin 108). His argument for the aristocratic French version is that the floral references "show this poem to have a pervasive, significant, willed pattern of flower imagery which sets the tone of the work as a whole and gives it its unique literary quality" (103). In citing many other instances of the use of flower imagery in medieval literature, he shows that its presence in *Floire et Blancheflor* goes well beyond the medieval tradition of naming lovers after flowers and associating love with floral imagery. Moreover, he quite rightly claims, if this were merely a medieval commonplace it would appear in all the versions, and, as we know, it does not. *Il Filocolo*, not surprisingly, develops the most complex system of garden imagery, not simply with the interplay of garden and temple found in other versions, but with the network of gardens in which the young Florio/Filocolo finds himself: the garden at Montoro, the setting of the *brigata* and the *questioni d'amore*, and the Admiral's garden where the virgins enjoy repose within their tower prison. Boccaccio's use of the garden includes, but extends beyond, the typology of the myth of spring (found in the aristocratic French, for example) by creating ideal landscapes that contribute to the overall thematic intent of the book, and are therefore related to each other in significant ways.

Boccaccio, it would appear, makes use of both the Chronicle – the "third strain" – and the aristocratic French poem in his preservation of the essential nature of the garden, but clearly invents connections between the various gardens that do not exist in any other version.

Because the geography is unrealistic in the aristocratic French

The road to conversion

version, its use of spatial indicators of good and evil is archetypal rather than specific. For example, in *Floire and Blancheflor*, the distinction between house, garden and even humanity becomes blurred when Floire is brought into the tower in a flower basket and Claris tells Blancheflor that she has never seen flowers like these. The geographical significance is replaced by a different code, a different set of references, where the traditional symbolism of garden and building may be said to come into play. The qualities for which the garden is the traditional metaphor – vitality, sexuality, the freedom of nature – are brought into the tower, the man-made edifice. There is a conflation of sacred and profane because the “Garden of Paradise” that enters the tower brings with it sexual love, which will later provide the impetus for the conversion to Christianity. This, in a sense, recalls but inverts the imagery of Eden. Here, the sexuality associated with the Garden, the fall of Adam and Eve, leads to conversion – the spiritual redemption – of the lovers, so it is a kind of reversal of the Fall, signalled, perhaps, by the physical ascent of the basket to the top of the tower. The courtly lovers’ garden recovers a religious significance here, but only indirectly, in that it now provides the possibility of the coupling of Floire and Blancheflor, which leads to their own conversion and then to Spain’s.

All the versions employ the typical romance motif of the descent of the hero and heroine symbolized by a series of deaths and rebirths, spiritual, social and metaphorical. The Spanish prose romance demonstrates this in a relentless fashion, made all the more obvious by its fairly specific use of moral geography. In all the versions, Spain is not so much immoral as deluded in its choice of pagan gods over the Christian god. It contrasts, therefore, with Alexandria, which functions as a moral and spiritual death for Blancaflor, exuberantly reversed by her reunion with Flores, the Admiral’s decision to wed Glorisia, and the lovers’ departure for home, armed with Flores’s promise to become a Christian (which he does not carry out until later).

Before Blancaflor’s exile, the text rehearses several deaths. There is the murder of Blancaflor’s father, and the social and then actual death of her mother; in the aristocratic French and Middle English versions, the mother does not die and her social rebirth is signalled by her remarriage to a nobleman at the end of the story. When the King separates the lovers, Flores becomes lovesick almost to the point of death. The false accusation against Blancaflor gives Flores the oppor-

Routes of conversion: time and space

tunity to save her from certain execution. The false tomb of Blancaflor is juxtaposed to the near-suicide of Flores, who cannot bear to live without his beloved. Alexandria, Cairo or Babylon, as the various texts name the location of the Emir and his tower, represents the lowest moment for the heroine, whose impending sexual servitude to the Emir makes her situation more dire than did her low social standing in Spain, since it now contains a strong element of moral peril. Both the hero and heroine come close to a real death, but are spared for various reasons, and the tower becomes a place of upward mobility, social, spiritual and literal.

In the prose romance, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Flores, by becoming the Holy Roman Emperor by virtue of Blancaflor's lineage, physically replaces Miçer Persio (the father), who would have ascended the throne, so Blancaflor, in a sense, replaces her dead mother as Empress. The prose romance most perfectly forms a textual circle, not only with the substitution of Flores and Blancaflor for Miçer Persio and Topacia, but geographically as well, for the first few chapters – the courtship and wedding of Blancaflor's parents – take place in Rome, and Flores and Blancaflor move from Spain to Rome at the end. The text moves from Rome to Spain, Spain to an island, the island to Alexandria, Alexandria to an island, the island to Spain, and finally to Rome, where the lovers ascend the throne of the Holy Roman Empire. No other text (except the Greek, which appears to be a translation of the Spanish) contains such a perfect geographical symmetry.

The Spanish prose romance maintains the shipwreck episode, but here the island functions more as a retreat for spiritual contemplation than a location for miracles, as it does in the Chronicle. Flores's impetus for conversion in the prose romance comes from his pondering the events that preceded the shipwreck and his sudden conviction that Blancaflor's God is their only hope of ever leaving the island. The space itself is not the location of miracles as is the island in the Chronicle.

As I have periodically mentioned throughout this study, the Chronicle detours more often than any other version through realistic details, such as the linguistic differences between Berta, Blancaflor's mother and the pagan Queen. In all the other versions of the story, Blanchefflor maintains herself as a Christian and hopes that Floire will convert to Christianity; only in the Chronicle does the logical detail enter that a maiden raised in a pagan culture might have been told that

The road to conversion

she was Christian but she would have little idea of what that means. In the Chronicle, therefore, the conversion that takes place on the island is a double one: both Flores and Blancaflor inform the monks that they wish to be saved by Jesus Christ. The chronicler practices a form of narrative simultaneity: during the very time of the private discussion between Flores and Blancaflor about the wisdom of conversion, the monks are experiencing the miraculous vision of their patron Saint Augustine, who prophesies that the two lovers will request baptism the next day. Moreover, he tells them, this conversion is the result of a promise that God made to Blancaflor's mother, that her daughter would be a Christian and that the mother's progeny would reign in France (which, the chronicler tells us, we will hear about later [f. 42rb]), and of Flores's inescapable desire for conversion by having been nursed by Blancaflor's mother, whose Christian milk imbued him with the desire for Christianity. Although the text does not mention Augustine's mother, it is most appropriate that Augustine, whose mother, Saint Monica, received a promise from God that her child would indeed convert to Christianity, conveys the news to the monks about God's promise to another anxious mother.

The various versions employ the notion of time itself in different ways: some are timeless in the way of much romance, while others strive for the timelessness that has symbolic value as well as using specific elements of time. An obvious example is the day of the protagonists' birth, for some texts – the Italian *Cantare*, the Spanish prose romance and the *Filocolo* – repeat this day as the one on which Floire enters the tower in the basket of flowers. The symbolism of birth and rebirth – spiritual and amorous – could hardly be more apparent. The Spanish prose romance and the *Filocolo* also treat the idea of the lovers' completion of the parents' pilgrimage, so the intervening years become as nothing in terms of the successful completion of an act of religious devotion. For the texts that attempt to attach themselves to the European Charlemagne cycle, historical time is all but forgotten.

FROM PAGAN COURT TO CHRISTIAN KINGDOM: *CRÓNICA DE FLORES Y BLANCAFLOR* AND *IL FILOCOLO*

These two richly composed works would seem to be poles apart from each other, generically, in narrative register, and even in terms of content. Yet time and again it becomes obvious that certain narrative

moments derive from a common source (if that source is not the Spanish Chronicle itself) and that the works do indeed have much in common. The opinion of earlier critics about Boccaccio's knowledge of *Floire and Blancheflor* is, as I have mentioned before, that he knew the anonymous *Cantare* and perhaps an Italian version unknown to us. More recent criticism suggests that the *Cantare* is contemporary with, or slightly later than, *Il Filocolo*.

Presumably basing her opinion on the research of Quaglio and Battaglia, who are cited in the notes, Smarr states that "[a]lthough Boccaccio uses elements from both twelfth-century French versions, neither includes the exchange of vows [in the scene of the clandestine marriage in the tower] until after the couple has been caught and pardoned" ("Romance, Epic" 38). H. A. Kelly asserts similarly: "In the original versions of *Floire et Blancheflor* (and the same holds for the Italian *cantare* and the English version as well), the lovemaking in the tower is a simple matter of premarital intercourse. It was Boccaccio himself who added all the details of clandestine marriage" (*Love and Marriage* 225). But through the present study we have come to know two indisputable things: *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* contains an exchange of vows with a ring before the couple is caught, and it consistently combines elements that were thought to be constants of either the aristocratic or popular French poems, but not of both. The nature of the features that appear in *Crónica*, and the fact that the Chronicle coincides with the brief description of a tale of *Flores y Blancaflor* that is found in the Spanish *Gran conquista de Ultramar* (probably mid-1290s), indicates that the version of the story related by *Crónica* predates Boccaccio's *Filocolo* at least by several decades.¹

In her later work, *Boccaccio and Fiammetta*, Smarr claims for Boccaccio an originality that cannot be completely true: "It is Boccaccio who, in the *Filocolo*, added Books I and V – about Christ's redemption of man and an interrupted pilgrimage completed by Florio and Biancifiore along with the conversion of many people – to the preexisting romance of two lovers, thereby suggesting that Florio's pilgrimage of love may have its Christian meanings too" (225). Certainly the happy generic marriage of the hagiographic

¹ Although opinions on the date of *Gran conquista de Ultramar* are far from harmonious, all but Menéndez Pidal place the work in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Gómez Pérez's view was that *Gran conquista* was composed somewhere between 1284 and 1298 ("Leyendas medievales" 15). For a more detailed analysis of the relationship of *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* to other Spanish works, see Chapter One.

The road to conversion

qualities of pilgrimage literature to a love story, which resulted in the addition of genealogical material, the pilgrimage of Blancheflor's parents, and the conversion material at the end of the story – that is to say, much of the content of *Il Filocolo*'s Books I and V – occurred to at least one writer before the time of Boccaccio. Smarr and Kelly cannot be criticized for their opinions because although Gómez Pérez's transcription of *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* appeared in the 1960s, the obscurity of the publication meant that the Chronicle's existence never reached the attention of any of the critics of the legend of *Floire and Blancheflor* who would have been most interested and influenced by its discovery, particularly Giacone (for his schema of the European versions) and some of the more recent editors of the French manuscripts, such as Felicity Krueger and Jean-Luc Leclanche (whose introduction explored the question of origins of the legend).² This section of the chapter, then, continues to assert the primacy of the Spanish version over the Boccaccian one, an effort that was begun in the first part of the present study, and provides interpretations of the closing scenes of both works that become more readily apparent through their comparison.

Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor and *Il Filocolo* represent the fullest expression of the conversion material that marks so many of the versions that came after these two works; except for Fleck's 8,000-line poem, which tends to concentrate on the spiritual life – the sentiments – of the lovers, these two texts develop the motifs of pilgrimage and conversion to an unprecedented degree. What makes them an interesting comparison is that they allow us to see the same material used to completely different ends. There is absolutely nothing playful about the Chronicle, unless it is, perhaps, the irony that Charlemagne, that confounder of Saracens, should himself be descended from the Moorish Kings of Spain. *Il Filocolo*, on the other hand, is both playful and serious. Boccaccio employs the conversion material of Book Five in order to posit the notion of instability on several levels. Book Five, far from being a conventional testimony to the supremacy of Christianity over the pagan gods, instead produces a polysemous text – that clearly had been building from the beginning – in which Christianity is the victor not through an overwhelming spiritual desire on the part of the hero, but through the triumphant power of a good story and,

² As mentioned earlier, Fradejas does refer to the Chronicle in his article on fourteenth-century romances, but he is not concerned with elaborating on *Flores y Blancaflor* here or elsewhere.

Routes of conversion: time and space

for good measure, through threats to the hero's father, the pagan King Felix.

Florio exchanges the pagan gods, who had alternately thwarted him and rewarded him, for Jesus Christ, the true God, because he is so moved by the power of the storyteller's tale. And yet when this God threatens King Felix with the destruction of his kingdom should he not convert to Christianity, he seems no less wrathful and capricious than Venus, Diana and Jove have shown themselves to be throughout the work. Instead of bringing the story of love and religious fervor to a crescendo of marriage and conversion, Boccaccio positions Filocolo's conversion more in the realm of chance and convenience. Ultimately, then, the conversion rests on the triumph of a story, and Boccaccio's opus, which ends with a seemingly harmonious resolution, splinters into dissonant fragments. In noting the abruptness with which Boccaccio dismisses the pagan gods and exchanges them for the new Christian rule, Kelly's observation is completely accurate, but his characterization of this narrative act rules out any intentional authorial irony: "[Boccaccio's] treatment of the two forms of religion gives rise to a startling inconsistency, which could have been corrected only by massive revision" (*Love and Marriage* 330). Is it so inconceivable that the inconsistency may have been planned? The glib exchange of the pagan gods for the Christian God should alert the wary reader to his or her tendency to make a similar hermeneutic glib exchange of the inner tale for the frame-tale, for, as we shall see, Boccaccio creates many links between the inner story and the frame. The question that remains (and will be examined in the next chapter) is whether we should make such an exchange.

The first part of the present chapter concentrated on important narrative moments in the European versions that draw together the concepts of time and space within the texts. *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* exhibits a most intriguing method of linking time and space, both historical and narrative, so we will begin this section with an examination of the method. Because the garden of the *questioni d'amore* functions as *Il Filocolo*'s imaginative center, I will discuss the topics that link this scene to the rest of the work. One of the goals is to show convergence and divergence between the Spanish and Italian narratives, so we will then consider some of the major similarities and dissimilarities, especially in the scenes that follow the trial. The chapter will end by discussing Boccaccio's methodological

deconstruction of what he had painstakingly set up throughout the first four books of *Il Filocolo*, using much of the same material that *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* employs in order to bring the love story into focus as part of a chain of Christian miracles and Christian history.

Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor is constituted by a pattern of forgetting and remembering that is akin to the Hebraic terminology of Biblical narrative, which is also one of forgetting and remembering.³ Inherent in this pattern are the concepts of promise and fulfillment and veiling and revealing, especially with regard to the truth. That is not unique to this chronicle. As I mentioned before, the ninth-century Asturian chronicles portrayed Spain as the site of repeated historico-religious falls and redemptions.

Following this line of thinking, the Chronicle can be divided into three general parts, each involving a pilgrimage, promise and fulfillment, veiling and revealing, and forgetting and remembering, while the idea of *felix culpa* underlies the work as a whole. When Fines first chooses from his father's lands the area he wishes to rule over, he selects Spain because of its lushness and abundance of natural resources: the description is almost paradisaical.⁴ The pilgrimage of Blancaflor's parents constitutes the fall, while the rest of the work moves towards restoration and redemption.

The first part of the Chronicle is the pilgrimage of Blancaflor's parents and the early years of Flores and Blancaflor. When the children fall in love, the parents offer each other counsel, trying out different plans to make Flores forget Blancaflor. The words "forget" and "remember" ("olvidar" and "acordarse") appear constantly. The schemes of the parents, designed to veil or cover truth, are eventually revealed, whereupon the adolescent Flores vows to search for Blancaflor until he finds her, thus setting in motion the second part of the work.

In this part, where cunning and ingenuity are linked to God's will, the words "encobrir" and "descobrir" – to cover and uncover, to veil and reveal – are used over and over again. They are meant in a literal sense: Blancaflor is imprisoned in a tower, and must be discovered;

³ See, for example, Schwartz on "remembering" in the Hebrew Bible in "Joseph's Bones" (40–59) and *Remembering and Repeating*.

⁴ The view of Spain as a kind of paradise can be found in Isidore of Seville's seventh-century *History of the Kings of the Goths*, when he refers to the Peninsula's "abundance of everything fruitful" and says: "[y]ou are located in the most favourable region in the world" (Wolf 81).

Flores is hiding in a basket of roses, and must be revealed; and the two lovers hide in Blancaflor's bed, when they are suddenly revealed, or uncovered, by the King of Babylon. As we have seen in previous chapters, these scenes are replete with imagery that embraces both secular and sacred interpretations. The lovers secretly marry and set out to return to Spain, which initiates the third phase of the work, a pilgrimage of spiritual remembrance.

The travellers' ship is propelled toward an island inhabited by Augustinian monks, and reputed to be one of the islands that Saint Bernard traversed. Flores and Blancaflor feel stirrings of remembrance upon seeing and speaking with the monks, and Blancaflor recalls that her mother had told her that she herself was a Christian. Flores, interestingly enough, "remembers" Christianity because the breast milk he had ingested as an infant causes him to recognize truth when he comes upon it, and to want to convert to Christianity himself. Saint Augustine appears to the monks and tells them that the shipwreck of the couple enables the beginning of a fulfillment of God's promise to Berta, Blancaflor's mother, that her daughter would become a Christian, and that from her family would come "the one in France whom all men serve," that is, Charlemagne.

When Flores's men refuse to convert to Christianity, the monks withhold all food from them. Flores's men try to steal the monks' food and are struck blind. This miracle impels them to accept Christianity, in large measure because they are starving. When they agree to ingest the Word, they are given all the food and drink they could wish for. Thus, ingestion comes full circle in this text, as promise and fulfillment, and as both an inversion of the Garden of Eden, where ingestion caused the fall, and a parallel to the ingestion of the Eucharist and Blood of Christ that redeems humankind.

As we recall, both the Chronicle and *Il Filocolo* present the ruler of the land where Blancheflor is imprisoned as being subject to another, more powerful, ruler: in *Crónica*, the King of Babylon pays tributary to the unnamed "galifa" ("caliph") who governs most of the area, while in *Il Filocolo*, the Admiral "is subject to the mighty ruler of Babylonia, and once every ten years he must send the ruler as tribute a vast amount of treasure, and a hundred lovely virgins" (IV:84). No other early version includes a ruler subject to another. The caliph appears in the Chronicle before Flores penetrates the tower – it was, we remember, Flores's ability to restore peace between the King and the caliph that caused the King to recall his debt to Flores and thus

The road to conversion

pardon him and Blancaflor – and the “mighty ruler of Babylonia” never actually appears in *Il Filocolo*.

In both works, when returning to the King/Admiral’s realm after the pardon of the lovers, the request is made that Flores/Filocolo recount his life story and, especially, reveal how he came to enter the tower (f. 38rb and IV:150–51). Both then proceed to celebrate weddings within the pagan kingdom, thereby making public what previously had been clandestine. The Chronicle then moves directly to the sea journey that brings about the conversion of Flores and Blancaflor, with its overt Augustinian references. Boccaccio also initiates his next section with the sea journey, but includes the digressions that we examined in the previous chapter – the recovery of Fileno, Idalogos’ story and that of the four maidens, the encounter with Caleon and the building of a new city, and the visions that cause the lovers to visit Rome – before moving to the conversion scene.

Boccaccio fuses two time periods in the closing of Book Four, when the wedding publicly celebrates the reunion of the lovers (which is, after all, the main storyline) and makes possible the fulfillment of the vows of the peacock sworn earlier during the episode of the poisoned fowl: both civic and personal (or chivalric and personal) vows are brought to fruition. Book Five opens with similar elements to Book Four in that both begin with sea voyages and both are pilgrimages. The ironic difference is that the first departure was a declared pilgrimage, when Florio relinquished his identity as a Spanish prince to become Filocolo, the pilgrim of love. Here, at the beginning of Book Five, his parents are again evoked, this time as the objects of desire and not rejection. Filocolo yearns to see them and his homeland again, but his journey is an unwitting Christian pilgrimage, for it will end in the conversion of an entire country.

The irony of the conflicting systems – the pagan gods, Christianity, Providence, Fortune – and Boccaccio’s continued use of duplication, replication, polarities and dialectical impulses, lead to further parallels between the openings of the two Books. At the start of his love pilgrimage, Filocolo and his band of travelers had been assailed by astounding winds and violent seas, all because Fortune willed it (IV:6–9). The narrator informs us that, happily, the travelers could undertake the new journey without incident, since “Fortune, which had become placated toward the two lovers, and the Fates which were

Routes of conversion: time and space

now bringing to pass the wishes of the gods, granted pleasant winds to the swift ships" (V:4). In between these two journeys lies Filocolo's journey following the vision of the Ship of the Church, which, like the journey in Book Five, leads to Sisife's hostelry.

As Vance has shown, the vocabulary of twelfth-century romance expands to appropriate that of the growth of mercantile economy ("Mervelous Signals") and the concomitant notions of change and exchange.⁵ Jocelyn Price commented on precisely this feature of *Floire et Blancheflor*, that is, the relationship between Blancheflor as material object and other worldly goods in the text, such as the cup (which often had feminine associations in medieval romance). Boccaccio demonstrates a more subtle complexity, however, than any of the other texts by creating a very neatly executed circle of time, space, economics and Fortune.

When Biancifiore is sold to the merchants, they stop at Sisife's inn, where Sisife hears the maiden's sorrowful tale. After Filocolo's sojourn in Parthenope, they depart in search of Biancifiore, and Fortune brings him to the same island and to Sisife. The inn appears in other texts, as does the feature that the innkeeper recognizes Floire by virtue of his strong resemblance to Blancheflor.⁶ Where Boccaccio invents material is in the return to the inn after Filocolo and Biancifiore have been reunited.

Chaucer's pilgrims set out, we recall, from the Tabard Inn, and, as Mazzotta says, the inn is "the emblem of the precariousness of man's earthly dwelling place and, in general, of the pilgrimage of human life" (*The World at Play* 48). Boccaccio forms concentric circles through his use of the inn. We could say that Filocolo's entire pilgrimage is a spiritual one, that from the moment he left his family he was, in a sense, embarking on a spiritual quest. Yet to him, and narratively speaking as well, it is a pilgrimage of love, and in some measure a journey of economics, of the recovery of a lost possession. Biancifiore stops at the inn en route to the tower; so does Filocolo.

⁵ See also Bloch, Chapter Five, "The Economics of Romance."

⁶ It is not unusual in medieval literature for lovers and friends to resemble each other. What is perhaps of significance for *Filocolo*, which moves toward *imitatio Christi* as Filocolo experiences a variety of "deaths" and "rebirths" and spiritual awareness and growth, is that "'likeness' was a fundamental theological category in the twelfth century. To be holy was to be 'like' God – to return the *imago Dei* to 'likeness' with Him" (Bynum, *Jesus as Mother* 101–02). Florio and Biancifiore are "like" each other, and the narrative develops the theme of a more transcendent "likeness" when Filocolo acquires the gift of speech that was conferred upon the apostles at Pentecost. As I discuss later, this likeness may reflect the myth of the Egyptian deities Isis and Osiris.

The road to conversion

But together they return to visit Sisife at the inn on the island, a seemingly gratuitous action but for the fact that it brings to a perfect closure the portion of the text that deals strictly with economics and Biancifiore as mercantile object. And, even though the entire work ultimately moves towards the conversion of the lovers, Boccaccio separates the varying goals of the protagonist by subtle narrative parameters such as the inn. A different kind of discourse begins here, and the reader will have to renegotiate the narrative – as the travelers do in a geographical manner – from the perspective of a different linguistic register and an ahistorical context. From the inn, the lovers travel for three days (another metaphorical resurrection/rebirth) to Parthenope (Naples) which thus far in the text has been associated with transcendent values, for Fiammetta's garden was in Parthenope.

Let us consider now the garden of the *questioni d'amore* as imaginative center, focusing specifically on the questions of time, the number seven, the ordering of experience and its link to linguistic order and the idea of true community.

Boccaccio's changing of the day of the lovers' birth from Palm Sunday to Pentecost is rife with significance, some of which has already been pointed out by others, but not the perfect symmetry of time and narrative space that the author creates by his use of that Christian holy day and the logical structure that is based on liturgical precedent, as we will see in the next chapter.

In addition to its significance as the origin of man's ability to follow Christ through the gift of speech, Pentecost as a secular linguistic symbol, as a time of telling tales, already existed in medieval romance when Boccaccio composed his narrative. Nancy Freeman-Regalado examines *La Queste del Saint Graal* as both romance and religious text, which begins with the convening of King Arthur's knights on the feast of Pentecost. Both Vance and Haidu (*Aesthetic Distance* 9–11) point out the gathering of Arthur's knights on Pentecost in Chrétien's *Yvain*, which juxtaposes material goods to storytelling, but Vance says:

However, if knights gather in Arthur's court at Pentecost, it is not to exchange marvelous commodities from Italy and the Mideast for English wool and Flemish textiles but to exchange marvelous stories of war and love. It is not just the monetary price or wage of an *aventure* that is the major concern in Arthur's court but its truth value, and "aureate" language, not gold, is its medium. (*Mervelous Signals* 124)

Routes of conversion: time and space

Boccaccio quite ingeniously transforms the Palm Sunday – Eastertide – Knights’ Festival of Flowers ambiguity of the *Floire and Blancheflor* legend into a Pentecost-pagan festival one, but at the same time he combines the religious significance of Pentecost, associated with human pilgrimage – as developed by Gregory the Great – with the literary significance of Pentecost as a time of storytelling, and, more abstractly, with the very question of language itself.

Victoria Kirkham has shown that the debaters in the garden are arranged around a fountain in a circle, with Fiammetta as the head and Caleon, whose question forms the center of the debate – number seven – opposite Fiammetta (“Reckoning with Boccaccio’s *Questioni*” 51). Just prior to that particular debate, Fiammetta’s head is crowned by light in a manner that suggests Pentecost and the wisdom of speech inflamed by divine inspiration (*Boccaccio and Fiammetta* 50–53). Smarr correctly links this reference to Pentecost with that of the birth of the lovers (expressed as the time when Phoebus was in the arms of Castor and Pollux) and the end of Ilario’s didactic, religious speech to Filocolo and Menedon, which ends with Pentecost, but she does not mention that the time of Pentecost is evoked three more times. Not only does Fiammetta’s speech and appearance recall Pentecostal flames, but the *brigata* itself takes place then. The morning that Filocolo recounts to Ascalion the troubling bird-dream is described as Titan having “been received into the arms of Castor and Pollux” (IV:12), and it is the same day that they encounter the garden festivities. Next, Pentecost appears, again in the form of the lovers’ birthday, precisely when Filocolo enters the tower. Biancifiore laments to Glorizia, just after the latter has discovered Filocolo in the basket: “all the days of the year would be fit for my lamenting even if there were many more of them than there are; but especially this day where we now find ourselves; for if it has not slipped out of your memory, this is the day when I was born, as was he for whom I am grieving.” She connects her sorrow with the capacity for language to deceive: “And so it seems to me that gods, like men, have learned to lie; and so I prefer weeping to celebration” (IV:112). Finally, the joyous day of Florio’s coronation as King arrives, and once again it is a day when “Apollo [is] in the arms of Castor and Pollux” (V:95). The narrative unites all the major activities of the work – the quests, the accomplishments, the high moments of moral and spiritual education – in the time of Pentecost.

Fiammetta’s answer to Caleon forms the moral center of the story

The road to conversion

as well as the center of the debate when she outlines the kinds of love and distinguishes the most important kind, an honest love. The rest of the *Filocolo* deals with the absolute necessity of a moral core within language, and therefore within experience, as we will see. The question of Pentecost relates also to the use of the number seven in the *Filocolo*. Seven is a holy number for many reasons – particularly its association with eternal salvation – and Kirkham relates two important references to seven within the text: Caleon's question and the Seven Virtues ("Reckoning with Boccaccio's *Questioni*" 55). To these two, we must add the King's "good government" speech based on the Seven Deadly Sins, Filocolo's conversion after hearing Ilario's story of the seven ages of man, and various other moments such as Filocolo's statement to Sisife at the inn that he has searched for Biancifiore for "a good seven months or more" (IV:77).⁷

Pentecost and the number seven come together when Ilario ends his long sermon with the descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles. Filocolo's response recalls Luke's verse about the burning heart found in Gregory's Pentecost sermon: "And burning with celestial love, they returned happy to their hostelry, where they found the Duke and Parmenione and Fileno and the others awaiting them.... After Filocolo had been with them for a while, he could no longer keep within himself the burning flame, and called them all into a private room, and began to speak" (V:58). The flame transforms itself from desire to speech and Filocolo, whose linguistic education from the time of the confounding of their language when love struck, through the lesson of Fiammetta's moralizing until now, when Ilario's powerful storytelling opens his heart and mind, speaks with a heretofore unknown language: "My dear comrades and friends ... new happenings require new forms of speaking, and so I am sure you will marvel greatly at what I believe I must tell you now; but since I am constrained by a new flame, and since according to my judgment I must do this, I shall not be silent" (V:59). The story that ended with Pentecost – Ilario's tale – has been taken up again as Filocolo himself becomes an instrument of divine grace. Before turning to Filocolo's baptism and homecoming, and the comparison with *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, let us consider the question of the ordering of experi-

⁷ Kolve briefly discusses the prevalence of the numbers seven and eight in medieval literature, citing, for example, Hugh of St. Victor, who said: "Let wisdom grow, then, through seven and eight," and the symbolic presence of the number seven in such works as *Emaré*, in which the husband makes a penitential journey to Rome after "fully seven yere" of grief (499, n116). See Hopper for a general discussion of medieval number symbolism.

ence, language and true community, and for that we must return to Fiammetta's garden.

Filocolo's dream of birds shows, on one level, chaos and destruction. It is followed by Filocolo and Ascalion's accidental discovery of the garden festivities in which they are invited to participate. The garden, just outside the city, becomes a microcosm of a perfectly ordered civilization – structurally (a circle), linguistically and morally – where all are heard, and the personal integrity of the leader, Fiammetta, guides and governs the group.

To digress for a moment, Boccaccio offers a hint of what results when the leader lacks personal integrity – linguistic integrity – expressed through the breakdown of communication. When King Felix unjustly condemns Biancifiore, the consequence is a disordered court, in which murmurings, disagreements and general confusion prevail (II:49). The King has used language for selfish, personal gains and to deceive, to lie.

The garden represents true community; Filocolo and Ascalion are invited to stay and are honored, “not as a pilgrim and a man invited to their festivities, but as a leader and head of it” (IV:16). King Felix's conduct in the court contrasts with Fiammetta's unselfish use of language, in which words are offered with the benefit of the entire community in mind, but also edify the individual. The topics of true community and its linguistic and ordered dimensions are taken up again later; indeed, they become prominent features in the remaining episodes of the work, especially in the more spiritual depiction of Christian *communitas* and individual salvation.

Many pages after the *questioni d'amore*, after Filocolo and Biancifiore have visited Sisife and then heard Idalogos' story, they again find Caleon, who we recall, was disillusioned by his unrequited love for Fiammetta, which he expresses as a ship having gone off course (V:30–31). Just prior to finding Fileno, Biancifiore echoes the moral of honest and proper love postulated by Fiammetta in question seven, the center of the debate and the question involving Caleon, when she says: “May the gods allow both you and me to be loved by everyone with an honest love, and if that cannot be, let us be loved with some kind of love, while we love everyone as is proper” (V:33).

The reunion of Filocolo and Caleon is interrupted by the recovery of Fileno, who had been transformed into a fountain. Fileno asks for pardon, explaining his “loss of grace,” even if he is uncertain that he has sinned, saying: “Pardoning is a fine and splendid victory” (V:36).

The road to conversion

When Biancifiore speaks to him, and, most importantly, the two lovers forgive him, he is released from his prison. This forgiveness foreshadows Ilario's story of God's forgiveness of sinning man, and recalls Gregory's insistence that pilgrimage and friendship are allied matters. The Augustinian paradigm that love of one's neighbor – charity – is an essential component of the love that brings one closer to God, informs the latter part of *Filocolo*.

This brings us to an important point about Biancifiore's pivotal role in the story. Idalogos' praise of Biancifiore sets her apart from all other women on earth. In a work full of metamorphoses and conversions, Biancifiore is the figure who most causes change in the other characters. Florio's change of identity to Filocolo resulted from his need to search for Biancifiore; her dream of Rome, to be discussed shortly, initiates Filocolo's process of conversion to Christianity. Biancifiore's forgiveness of Fileno permits his metamorphosis from fountain to human being. Here, Biancifiore functions as a kind of Io-Isis, who combines features of nature and Aphrodite.⁸ Thus, the metamorphosis of Fileno from inanimate object to human being foreshadows the spiritual conversion of Filocolo and his countrymen from mere human beings to beings endowed with the promise of eternal life.

The happy moment of reunion is then interrupted by a great noise, the chaotic skirmishes between two feuding groups of people. They

⁸ It is likely that the story of Isis and Osiris, and Isis' role in Lucius Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* or *Golden Ass*, inspired Boccaccio here. In the religion of ancient Egypt, Isis was the sister-wife of Osiris, whom she resembled greatly. It is said that they loved each other even in their mother's womb. Because Florio and Biancifiore were raised together from infancy, they grew up almost as brother and sister. They resemble each other in Boccaccio's tale and, we recall, Sisife recognizes Filocolo/Florio by his resemblance to Biancifiore, whom Filocolo calls his sister. Isis and Osiris had one son, Horus, and Florio and Biancifiore had Lelio. When Osiris, King of Egypt, was killed and his body parts scattered in many places, Isis gathered them all together, which reminds us of Florio's and Biancifiore's actions at the end of the story when they separate the Christian pilgrims' bones from those of the pagans. For a discussion of the importance of Isis and Osiris in Egyptian lore, see Budge. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the narrator Lucius, trapped in the body of a donkey, gains release from his bestial prison through the intervention of Isis. Lucius prays to "the Blessed Queen of Heaven." He is saved by the appearance of Isis, "Nature, Universal mother," who is also Aphrodite. She tells him that if he eats rose-leaves, he will be redeemed. This recalls another moment in the *Filocolo*, the hero's entry into the tower in a basket of roses, a scene that combines sacred and profane elements. The entry, we remember, signals the upward swing of the narrative, and the hero's redemption, at least in terms of the fulfillment of his love quest. Anthony Cassell and Victoria Kirkham, in discussing Boccaccio's earliest work, *Caccia di Diana* (see their edition) refer to Apuleius as "[o]ne of Boccaccio's lifelong favorite authors" (37). The story of Isis is one that Boccaccio knew well. In *Genealogy of the Gods*, he records conflicting versions of the Io-Isis myth (IV,46) and concludes, "Surely an inquiry of this kind should be left to the experts" (cited in Seznec 223 n14).

Routes of conversion: time and space

are without clothing, and in all ways completely without civilization, or any order at all. Boccaccio here melds a variety of topics: the relationship between speech and cities (the civilizing power of discourse), the idea of rejecting human love for a more noble purpose, and the ultimately ironic juxtaposition of the idea of the city of God and the city of man.

As Vance reminds us:

The notion that the order of discourse is the living expression of the social order was already central to a tradition of classical oratory that any poet such as Dante, Petrarch, or Chaucer knew very well. Centered upon the explicitly discursive spaces of the *agora* and the *forum*, the classical city (like the Humanist city to follow) was thought to owe its very existence to the operations of speech. In the *De oratore*, for example, Cicero says it is speech that has the power to unite men in a single place, to extract them from their bestial and savage condition, to bring them to civility, and to sustain laws and justice (I.viii.53). (*Mervelous Signals* 257)

When questioned by Caleon, Filocolo and Fileno, the people can hardly remember the reasons for their continuing battles; even their war, then, is random. This episode builds on the need to order and organize our experience and on the belief that real freedom – the freedom of the individual – results from a civilized order – ceremony, law, conversation, discipline – that liberates the mind from the primitive goal of survival to a more transcendent state.

Metaphorically, chaos forms the center of the wild people's existence; structurally, however, the vision of Rome forms the center of the episode. As we saw in the previous chapter, medieval and Renaissance writers often evoked Rome as an urban and imperial ideal, especially when viewed in its dual role of spiritual and imperial center on earth. Mentally, if not in reality, Rome comes closest to resembling the city of God on earth. Filocolo and Caleon set about founding a new city, creating order out of chaos, before heading for Rome. The narrator employs a deflationary technique that also serves as a cautionary note about rulers when, after all this noble activity of restoration, the episode ends:

And before much time had passed, they slept easily at night, closed up in an orderly way in their little circle, content with such rule and aware that they had become human beings through the discretion and diligence of Caleon.... What more shall I say of him? In a few

The road to conversion

years he brought the place into such order and system that it was necessary to amplify the walls; and these were then envied in later times, and under a new duke they fell into misery. (V:49)

Boccaccio brings together here a commentary on the contemporary political state of affairs and a more general commentary on the importance of the ruler with a hope for the rebuilding of Rome itself, later expressed again by Ilario. What we will find in Filocolo shortly after his conversion is the leader who, like Caleon, can guarantee the freedom of the individual within an ordered community, but who, more importantly, recreates a land of Christian *communitas* within which are saved thousands of individual Christian souls.

Peter Brown discusses how the developing Christian community appropriated certain social functions of the Roman community model and renegotiated their value in spiritual terms. Although there are many examples, the most useful for our purposes are the translations of relics, burial customs (both of which attest the need for *praesentia*), and, in the next chapter, gift-giving.

Praesentia, the nearness of the saints through shrines and relics – often inscribed with “Hic locus est” or merely “hic” – functions in tandem with distance, exemplified through pilgrimage, which Alphonse Dupront has called the “therapy of distance” (quoted in Brown 87; 162 n3). *Il Filocolo* begins and ends, as does the Chronicle, with pilgrimages. But *Il Filocolo* alone addresses the importance of *praesentia* when the goal of the pilgrimage of Filocolo and Biancifiore is the recovery of the long-buried body of the heroine’s father, Lelio, and the translation of his perfectly preserved body to Rome, along with the body of the mother, Giulia. The pilgrimage is marked by miracle, when Biancifiore’s parents appear to her in a vision and tell her where to find Lelio’s body, and that the bones of the other unburied Christians will glow vermilion in order to distinguish them from those of the Saracens and the horses. Given that the finding of Lelio’s body is the result of a miracle, the return of his and Giulia’s bodies to Rome is nothing short of the translation of saintly figures.

As Brown tells us, burials were considered to be a cherished family activity: “what is as constant as the practices themselves [burial customs] is the overwhelming role of the family in the care of the dead” (24). The earlier-described “false tomb,” that supposedly contained the remains of Biancifiore, can be seen as a travesty of these activities designed to bring families together; critics have commented

that Boccaccio, normally drawn to elaborate depictions of scenes and objects, is curiously silent about the description of the tomb itself. That may be, in part, because he is more concerned here with the social and moral implications of its construction – a travesty of burial customs – that is juxtaposed to the later scene of restoration in Book V.

In tracing some of these narrative developments to a socio-historical source, we can see that the choice of Rome in the *Filocolo* is more than serendipitous; moreover, Boccaccio's choice of Rome as the home of Biancifiore's family conflates the medieval Home-and-Rome dichotomy on the human and spiritual levels. The boundaries of dynasty and lineage normally associated with kingdoms, in both the *Filocolo* and the *Chronicle*, are redrawn along the lines of a family of humankind, or, more precisely, the Christian *communitas*.

In the *Acts of the Apostles*, Paul confronts the Athenians, who have constructed an altar:

Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. (17: 22–23)

Up to now, we have concentrated on *Il Filocolo*, on the material between Filocolo's recovery of Biancifiore and his arrival in Rome, where he meets Ilario. *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* moves directly from the tower episode to the shipwreck and the island, inhabited by monks of the order of Saint Augustine. The Spanish and Italian narratives are very different, but they share striking similarities and nuanced differences. For example, in the *Crónica*, Flores rewards Daytes's loyalty and help by naming him mayor of a city in Egypt; Filocolo awards the government of the new city to Caleon. Only these two works have more than two weddings of the lovers: both have the private exchange of vows in the tower; Boccaccio's text offers a grand public ceremony in the Admiral's realm. In the *Chronicle*, Flores and Blancaflor receive baptism from the prior on the island, who then marries them "segunt manda la ley de Roma" (f. 42vb) ("as the law of Rome commands"). At the coronation of Flores, he and Blancaflor marry again, as if for the first time; at Florio's coronation, it is not exactly a marriage, but implicitly it is, for Messaalino and Sara fulfill the vows that they had made on the peacock in which they had promised to present Biancifiore with a crown and rare plants on the day of her wedding.

The road to conversion

The conversion material in the Chronicle is marked by miracles, as it is in *Il Filocolo*. First of all, Flores's ship becomes lost at sea, finally mooring at the island. The monks fear that the Moors plan to do them harm, but Saint Augustine appears to them that night, informing them that the two lovers will request baptism the next day, and that this conversion fulfills God's promise to Blancaflor's mother. Before accepting the new religion, Flores asks to speak to his men first; this happens also, as we know, in the *Filocolo*. When they leave the island, the captain suddenly knows where they are and they find the other ships of their company after a separation of three months. Florio and Biancifiore experience the vision of her dead parents, who charge them to find their bodies and give them Christian burial in Rome. When they journey to the site of the slaughter, the bones of the dead Christian pilgrims glow a vermilion color, enabling the living to distinguish between pagan and Christian. Lelio, the father, is exhumed and his body, as is typical in hagiography, remained as fresh as if he were still living.

An important difference is in the reaction of the advisers to Flores and Florio, but it joins together topics that pervade both works: the importance of advice and that of good government. Gaydon, the tutor of Flores, would rather die than convert, but when he sees how well Guarin (the legate of Rome, as Ilario is) orders the land under the new Christian rule, he accepts Christianity, becoming Flores's most valued Christian and civic adviser. Ascalion accepts Christianity immediately, but dies soon after, so Ilario takes over the tutor's role and becomes Flores' adviser in Spain on matters of religion and government. No other version emphasizes the importance of any adviser after the reunion of the lovers.

Another similarity is in the naming of the baby born to Floire and Blancheflor. Although the Spanish text introduces a female heir, and *Il Filocolo* a male heir both texts maintain the feature that the child is named after the appropriate maternal grandparent, Berta and Lelio, respectively. This tradition is broken in the Spanish prose romance, where the child is named Gordión and becomes the King of Spain when Flores assumes the throne as Holy Roman Emperor. The other versions (except for a Norwegian continuation in which the daughter of Flóres and Blankiflúr is Sedentiana, the maiden king) either have no child, or, if the version is linked to the Charlemagne cycle, Berthe is named in the opening of the story.

Along with the events of the island, there is another aspect of

Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor that does not appear to the same extent in *Il Filocolo*: forced conversion. Only King Felix in Boccaccio's work resists the New Law, and he succumbs quickly when God comes to him in a vision and threatens the destruction of his kingdom. Florio sends the Pope's representatives throughout his realm to convert the mosques to churches and to smash the false idols contained within (V:82); this is paralleled in the Chronicle (f. 46va). The Chronicle, unlike *Il Filocolo*, revels in the high numbers of people converted to Christianity, and Flores himself travels throughout the countryside prevailing upon his subjects to accept the Christian God. As we saw in Chapter Two, the monks, and therefore Flores, saw little difference between persuasion by word and by the sword, and they even quoted Saint Paul as their justification for enforced baptism. *Il Filocolo* has none of this, but, as we will see in the next chapter, Boccaccio does not ignore the issue, he simply treats it in a metaliterary fashion.

The question of the written documentation of the story of the lovers brings with it some interesting similarities, as well as some great divergences. The narrator of *Il Filocolo* reveals himself at the end to be a compiler of the present story, not simply from the oral tale in the frame's *brigata*, but from Ilario the priest's written account of the matter. The chronicler of *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* admits from the outset that he records the already written account of one Sigiberto, but announces at the end of the chronicle that Sigiberto was an eyewitness (as Ilario was) to the events in Córdoba: "E dize Segiberto, el que fizo esta estoria de Flores e de Blancaflor, que fue natural de Cordoua e que se açerto y aquel dia en Cordoua" (f. 45ra) ("and Sigiberto said – he who composed this story of Flores and Blancaflor – who was a native of Córdoba and who was there that day in Córdoba"). There is a certain confusion in all of this. Earlier, the chronicler describes Sigiberto as "un sauio que saco esta estoria del fecho de Flores e de Blancaflor de aravigo" (f. 8vb) ("a wise man who took this history of the account of Flores and Blancaflor from Arabic"). He could, of course, have witnessed part of the historical event and relied on written accounts for the earlier history, but the fact of the eyewitness recording of the events in Córdoba comes as a surprise at the end of the Chronicle. Similarly, the reader of *Il Filocolo* is taken by surprise when the narrator suddenly introduces an eyewitness who also, not coincidentally, recorded the events of Córdoba. These are the only two known works to recount the transference of

The road to conversion

the court from one city – Marmorina and Almería – to Córdoba, from which King Florio/Flores rules wisely, justly, and as a Christian.

Boccaccio creates a complex conflation of time and space, and its more literary consequences will be discussed in the next chapter. However, it is appropriate now to consider the relationship between the narrator and the content of the story from the point of view of time and space before moving on to the next matter of consideration, the generic patterns and impulses in the various texts.

Some of the matters about which there is a fair amount of critical agreement are the following: Boccaccio makes certain autobiographical allusions in the *Filocolo*, although the extent and significance of those allusions are a matter of debate. For example, as a speaking tree Idalogos is clearly in Certaldo, reputed to be Boccaccio's birthplace, so the new city that is founded by Filocolo and Caleon nearby may, in fact, refer to Certaldo. In the frame-story, which takes place in Naples, the narrator becomes enamored of a woman bearing the name Maria ("that of the woman who contained in herself the redemption of that sad loss which resulted from the hungry appetites of our first mother" I:1) early in the morning in church on Holy Saturday.

Much ink has been spilled in the attempts to identify this figure and other women as the inspiration for Boccaccio's *inamorata* Fiammetta. Within the story itself, the Fiammetta of the garden was really named Maria ("most people call her by the name of Her by whom that wound was closed that was opened by the misbehavior of our first mother" IV:16). Given that this scene also takes place in Naples (Parthenope) the narrator conflates his own love affair with that of Caleon. Nevertheless, as Smarr cautions, we cannot take any of these allusions too far, for they break down quickly (*Boccaccio and Fiammetta* 58–59). What they do accomplish, however, is a confusion of historical time, perhaps in the service of a moral truth that is timeless. One piece of evidence that this may, in fact, be the case (and we will consider others later) is the relationship of Holy Saturday and Pentecost. Smarr points out that the Holy Saturday church service includes two important elements: the blessing of baptismal water and the renewal of the year by kindling new flame, and she relates this to the flame that is associated with Fiammetta (ibid. 50–51). Furthermore, she explains, the evening service "includes a reading about the three Marys coming to Christ's tomb. Saturday is anyway a day generally devoted to the office of the Virgin Mary, and therefore a suitable day for initiating the cult of a Maria" (ibid. 51).

Routes of conversion: time and space

She connects Maria of *Il Filocolo*'s frame-story to Fiammetta/Maria within, and states that both relate to the flames of love associated with the Holy Saturday service, with its blessing of baptismal water and renewal of the year by kindling new flame, and with Pentecost. We can see how Biancifiore relates to all this: by offering her body, Biancifiore symbolically redeems Florio, which links this act to baptism, our first spiritual cleansing; the association of the lovers' birthday and Pentecost has already been discussed. Thus, all three women, inside the tale and outside, are linked, and the narrator may hope for a redemption from the woman he has met in church that is similar to the one Biancifiore offered to Florio.

The narrator, then, wishes to draw parallels between his story and the tale of Florio and Biancifiore. There is, I believe, an even stronger link of the inner and outer tales through Scripture and liturgical tradition than the links mentioned above. Not only does the inner tale allude to Pentecost throughout, but the recreation of pilgrimage adapts some key phrases and moments of the traditional Pentecost sermon, Luke's Emmaus story (discussed in the previous chapter), which directly follows the story of the three Marys coming to the tomb. Therefore, even though the story of the three Marys and Pentecost are separated in historical time, they are linked through their Scriptural relationship, one following the other, as being the topics of the sermons for Holy Saturday (Luke 24: 1–12) and Pentecost (Luke 24:13–35). Furthermore, they are linked by the concept of baptism, one by water, the other by the flame of the Holy Spirit. The entire narrative, both frame and inner tale, occurs within the Easter season, with some very specific relationships that serve ultimately to break down even further the chronological notions of time and space.

Two other markers of time and space between the frame and inner tale are the *brigatas* and the tombs. The narrator and the lady of the frame story discuss the story of Floire and Blanche-flor at a *brigata* in Naples; Fiammetta (who, at least to a certain extent, must be identified with the lady of the frame-story) and her *brigata* occur in Naples, and Idalogos informs the lovers that their story is so well known that he overheard young people discuss it at another *brigata*.

Even before Boccaccio reworked it, the legend of *Floire and Blanche-flor* provided the opportunity to explore the idea of empty tombs: Floire's discovery of the empty sepulchre of his beloved sets in motion the hero's love-pilgrimage. Boccaccio expands the concept

The road to conversion

of the empty tomb to include both the frame and other episodes of the main tale. The sermon for Holy Saturday, the day of the frame-story, recounts the arrival of the three Marys at the empty sepulchre of Christ, a story whose significance rests on the concepts of absence and presence, the fullness of the promise that is expressed through the absence of the body. This story is linked, as mentioned before, to the rest of Luke's chapter on the Emmaus journey, in its expression of the knowing and not knowing, the recognizing and not recognizing of Christ. Given that a significant event of the frame takes place on Holy Saturday, the day leading up to the discovery of the empty tomb (part one of Luke's chapter), and that the inner tale develops some of the themes of the second part of Luke's chapter, it is not surprising that Boccaccio managed to link the two through the topic of tomb recovery as well.

A further link between the frame and inner tale, relating to tomb recovery, may be that one of the great legends surrounding Santiago de Compostela was the recovery of his tomb by Charlemagne. We have already seen how the frame takes place on Holy Saturday, when the three Marys visited Christ's empty tomb, and we know that the inner tale, with its episodes of Guilia's tomb and the recovery of the Christians' bones and Lelio's undecayed body, begins with Biancifiore's parents' pilgrimage to the tomb of Santiago de Compostela.

Generic crossroads

By “generic crossroads,” I refer to those moments in the various works in which the author shows a deliberate decision to turn his text, almost like a ship changing course, towards a particular narrative or thematic goal – a particular genre, as it were – or, as in the case of Boccaccio, away from a kind of literature and towards the “horizon of expectations” of his own audience. It seems fair to think of these moments of change or development in geographic terms – crossroads – given that *Floire and Blancheflor* is a world story whose most constant feature is, in fact, travel.

As I have shown throughout this study, the texts of *Floire and Blancheflor* employ features of various genres that propel the texts in different generic directions. At times the changes are not generic in nature, but of degree. Consider, for example, Tony Hunt’s analytical comparison of Chrétien’s *Yvain*, Hartmann’s *Iwein* and the Middle English *Ywain and Gawain*. Hunt demonstrates that the orientation of the three works differs, although much of the material remains the same: the two major themes of love and chivalry undergo a process of renegotiation that results in endings of very different tones. Hartmann’s work shows love and chivalry to be united in political responsibilities, love is subordinated to chivalric *trowthe* in *Ywain and Gawain*, and Chrétien’s view of love and chivalry is refracted through his use of ambiguity and irony (110).

The Middle English and Old French versions of *Floire and Blancheflor* also differ by degree and emphasis, as we saw in Chapter Two, especially regarding the use of *engin*. Barnes concludes that the increased emphasis on dupes and double-crossings in the Middle English poem does, in fact, reflect a generic change, which moves away from the French *roman idyllique* toward something more akin to Greek New Comedy (“Cunning and Ingenuity” 12). By the same

The road to conversion

token, we could say that the Old Norse tale and *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* differ by degree (although to a far greater extent than the Old French and Middle English poems do), but the Old Norse version and the Chronicle diverge from the French and Middle English poems in ways that transcend questions of degree. Their form and content bespeak a concern with historiography and didacticism that simply does not exist in the other versions mentioned.

Discussing medieval poetics, Vance sees in *Aucassin et Nicolette* a point worth considering here:

[*Aucassin et Nicolette* is] a precocious example of what we may call medieval discursive hybridism, by which I mean the tendency for poetic texts to generate semantic problems involving not equivocal *terms* but equivocal *discourses*. . . . In the twelfth century, vernacular poets were inclined to homogenize discourses coming from different social or intellectual spheres in accordance with the priorities of a single "discursive hegemony" (to borrow the term of Timothy J. Reiss), however fragile its dominance may have been. In the thirteenth century, "hybridizing" poets display two opposing tendencies: the first is centripetal, and attempts to gather the multiple discourses that constitute the fabric of the body into a hierarchy reflecting that of feudal ideology; the second is centrifugal, and perpetrates an explosion of "meaning" into multiple "meanings" that are as arbitrary as the discourses by which they are expressed. (*Merveulous Signals* 155)

Employing the distinctions that Vance articulates, we could say that all the versions with the exception of *Il Filocolo* are centripetal, in that they may embrace more than one discourse (economic, idyllic, epic, hagiographic) but the resolution of all the versions is harmonious. Boccaccio combines both of the above categories, so that the text can be read as a Christian one, with much material to support this view, or it can be read as a polysemous product because, in some ways, the discourses refuse to be "gathered."

This chapter has three sections: the first offers general conclusions about the various works and their similarities and differences; the second briefly discusses *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*; the third concentrates on *Il Filocolo*, since it is undoubtedly the most troublesome of the versions; the final section summarizes the overall intentions of the present study.

THE EUROPEAN VERSIONS OF FLOIRE AND BLANCHEFLOR

God and religion in general play an insignificant role in the Middle English and Old French tales. Floire's conversion is almost an afterthought in the Old French poems and is not much more important in the Middle English poem: the conversion of Floris is mentioned specifically in only one of the four Middle English manuscripts, the Auchinleck, where it states: "vnderfeng Christendom of prestes honde" (A 852) and it refers only to Floris's conversion; no mention is made of the rest of the country as in the Old French tale. The conversion, no more than a few lines in the Old French and Middle English versions, achieves great prominence in the *Filocolo*, the Chronicle and the prose romance. The expansion of the conversion material accounts for the cyclical nature of the story in these versions. The works approach epic – although, to be sure, they remain largely romances with scattered qualities of epic and other generic elements – when the hero has obligations to more than himself and his loved one, as in conventional literary epic. And it is precisely the expansion of the conversion material that transforms a mere love story into epic and hagiographic structures of meaning, and allows the elements of Divine Intervention, present throughout the story, to cohere in such a way as to subordinate the love to a far greater, indeed divine, plan, the growth of Christianity.

As we saw in earlier chapters, the texts most likely to expand the lineage of the lovers' parents are also the ones to develop the theme of conversion. Neither the French nor the Middle English poems fall into this category, and the Old Norse story differs from the southern versions in that the opening of this text highlights King Felix's brutal antagonism towards Christianity, hence the slaying of the pilgrims on their way to the shrine of Saint James of Compostela. Thus, the conversion material at the close of the northern text – Flóres's and Blankiflúr's construction of a monastery and nunnery respectively – exculpates the country from the blood of the slain pilgrims. The text focuses on the individual redemption of Flóres and Blankiflúr and not the generational and dynastic implications of their conversion. King Félix's evil deeds can be mitigated, if not completely forgotten, because Flóres and Blankiflúr, in effect, replace her dead parents, and Christianity is vindicated.

The southern versions establish a firm link between the proceedings

The road to conversion

of the opening chapters and the conversions and generational continuity of the later chapters. Additionally, the material on Blanche-flor's parents tends to strengthen the presence of God in the texts, and introduces within a Christian framework the theme of good and bad counsel, or sound and fallible advice. The pious parents of the unborn Blanche-flor determine their actions through prayer, through listening for divine direction. In each of the main southern texts, the reasons for the attack on the pilgrims en route to the shrine in Spain differ. In the *Filocolo*, having had false news of his city's pillage by the Romans, the King mistakes the pilgrims for rampaging Romans. In the *Chronicle*, King Fines simply overruns Christian territory and kills the Christian pilgrims. The prose romance strongly emphasizes the pagan-Christian conflict. During a raid sanctioned by King Felice, his henchmen interrogate the pilgrims to find out if they are Christians. On hearing that they are indeed Christians, the Saracens kill all but the pregnant Topacia, who is spared because of her womanly charms and apparent nobility.

What would appear, then, to have been an unfortunate idea, to say the least – Blanche-flor's parents' decision to undertake the journey – turns out to be a *felix culpa*, the impetus for the growth of Christianity: Blanche-flor's parents' misfortune proves to be Christianity's, and specifically Spain's, fortune. Without this tragedy, the pagan prince Floire would not have been exposed to Christianity, as he was, from childhood. Only the *Chronicle* alludes to Floire's inescapable destiny to become a Christian by stating quite emphatically that Berta's breast milk had infused the infant with the spirit of Christianity and that this was part of God's plan, designed to unfold through successive generations. The concept of Berta's breast milk functions as a unifying thread and as a metaphysical symbol: nursing the baby Flores in the beginning of the text, she provides him with the gift of life; later, that gift will reappear as the food that gives him eternal life as well.¹ The other texts, as we will see, focus on conversion inspired by the circumstances of Floire's journey back to Spain with Blanche-flor and his desire to wed her.

¹ Warner gives many examples of milk as the sustenance of the Christian soul, but a particularly powerful one is Bernard's sermon on the Song of Solomon 4:11, "Thy lips, my spouse, drop as the honeycomb; honey and milk are under thy tongue," in which he describes the kiss of the Church and Christ the bridegroom: "He gives her the kiss she had longed for . . . and so great is the power of that kiss that she at once conceives and her bosom swells with milk . . . So too we approach the altar of God and pray, and, if we but persevere, despite our own dryness and tepidity, grace will overpower us, our bosom will swell, love will fill our hearts . . . and the milk of sweetness will overflow everywhere in a torrent" (197).

Generic crossroads

The point at which the versions diverge greatly is the departure from the Emir's palace to return to Spain. The French popular version and the *Cantare* lack conclusions, trailing off at the episodes in the Emir's palace; the Trier-fragments begin with Floire's arrival in Babylon, and the French Palatine fragment ends with his arrival there. In the aristocratic version, Floire and Blanche-flor arrive home without incident. Floire assumes the throne of his father and converts to Christianity so that he can marry Blanche-flor. The rest of the country converts as well, some people willingly, others less so. For the Chronicle, the *Filocolo*, prose romance and Old Norse version, the conversion material becomes elaborate and essential.

The least complicated of these versions is the Old Norse tale, in which Blankiflúr yearns for her homeland, France. The trip to Paris initiates in Blankiflúr a spiritual examination that causes her to recall her Christian heritage and regret that she has married a non-Christian; she therefore vigorously exhorts Flóres to embrace Christianity and the two then found religious communities which they themselves join. The exile from the homeland, one of the constants of pilgrimage literature, manifests itself here (as it does in religious narrative), as a strong desire for the eternal homeland, unseen and, in the case of Blankiflúr, unknown.

In the Spanish prose romance, Flores agrees to accept Christianity in order to enjoy Blancaflor's favors, but in fact it is only after the shipwreck that he gives the matter deep thought. As we saw in Chapter Two, the prose romance incorporates religious material – the pilgrimage of Blancaflor's parents and Blancaflor's supplications to God for deliverance during her trials, for example – but the boat is the single feature that crystallizes the intentions of the work to move away from romance to another genre.

Wardropper discussed the prevalence in sixteenth-century Spain of the tendency to rewrite history – in the extant corpus of “falsos cronicones” (“false chronicles”) – and certainly the genealogical material in *Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor* helps to direct the romance towards the chronicle form. The shipwrecked boat, however, that emblem of romance adventure, is instead a part of God's plan for the Christianization of Moorish Spain. As a symbol in a kind of founding legend, therefore, it is an epic, rather, than romance boat:

the romance boat often travels to a series of islands and discrete episodes.... In epic narrative, which moves toward a predetermined

The road to conversion

end, the magic ship signals a digression from a central plot line, but the boat of romance, in its purest form, has no other destination than the adventure at hand. (Quint 179)

Earlier, the sea voyages were under the jurisdiction of capricious Fortune; now, after the travellers leave the Admiral's realm, Fortune shows herself to be a servant of Divine Providence, much as Quint has shown Tasso's boat in *Gerusalemme liberata* to be not one of romance, but the Renaissance boat of discovery:

Tasso thus transforms the boat of Fortune twice over into an epic ship: just as it receives a fixed course and destination in Tasso's plot, the boat prefigures future voyages of discovery that carry out God's plot for history. No longer the emblem of the fortuitous at all, the boat escapes the aimless pattern of romance wandering, of adventure for its own sake. (181)

As we saw in Chapter One, and as we will see in the Epilogue, the author of the Spanish prose romance was seemingly unaware of *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, so the authorial desire to integrate this love story into the larger framework of the history of the Christianization of Spain would appear to be completely independent of the Chronicle's having done so. Thus, the significance of the ship (and shipwreck) that occurs in the sixteenth-century prose romance may indeed bear more than a passing resemblance to Tasso's ship, and may form part of a much larger historico-literary context in which Renaissance Spain was engaged: the bringing of the Word to the New World, the Christianization of a new set of pagans, now that the infidels who had overrun the Peninsula centuries before had been subdued or expelled.

We must recall that the source of the prose romance is thought to be the *Filocolo*, where the only shipwreck is the one that brings Filocolo to Fiammetta's garden. So it was clearly significant to the author of the prose romance to link the conversion of Flores with a shipwreck and sojourn on an island. Even if the author were also aware of the Chronicle or some version like it, which also progresses directly from the Emir's realm to a shipwreck, it means that he bypassed the material in the *Filocolo* in order to recover the scene of shipwreck and conversion.

In the Chronicle, people are forcibly converted. Much is made of the righteousness of the Christian people and of their inherent right to bring Christianity to others, no matter what the method. On the

island, we recall, those of Flores's followers who refuse to forsake their religion are denied food by the pious monks. They are fed only when they convert, and the text recounts their ambivalence and the prelates' smugness, justifying their behavior with a purported statement from the writings of St. Paul (but which, in fact, does not appear in the Pauline epistles):

E dize la estoria que tales ovo y dellos que lo fueron de coraçon e otros con cuyta de fanbre. Mas el prior e los monjes parando mientes en la palabra que dixo el apostol sant Pablo: "En esto me glorifico, que todas las gentes alaban el nombre de Dios, siquier por voluntad syquier por semejança, non faciendo fuerça sinon bautizarlos." (f. 43va)

(And the history tells us that there were such, and of them, those [who converted] because of a change of heart and others because of the affliction of hunger, but the prior and the monks, taking seriously the words that the apostle St. Paul said: "I glory in this, that all peoples praise the name of God, either out of their own free will or by example [following others' example], not by forcing them, but by baptizing them.")

Conversion, by its very nature, is marked by a "radical discontinuity," as Freccero calls it (*Poetics of Conversion*). This sense of discontinuity can be viewed along the lines of gender. Historically, as the study of Weinstein *et al.* shows us, the lives of holy women follow a pattern that is markedly different from those of men. Generally, women's pious behavior begins in childhood. And, as Bynum tells us:

It is because women lacked control over their wealth and marital status that their life stories showed fewer heroic gestures of casting aside money, property, and family. But women's lives also seem to be characterized by earlier vocations – by continuity rather than change. . . . Men were inclined to tell stories with turning points, to use symbols of reversal and inversion. . . . Women more often used their ordinary experiences (of powerlessness, of service and nurturing, of disease, etc.). . . . Women tended to tell stories and develop personal models without crises or turning points. (*Holy Feast and Holy Fast* 25)

If we consider the development of the hero and heroine of *Floire and Blancheflor* from this point of view, we can see that the above assessment basically holds true, but there are some modifications.

The road to conversion

Even in the versions of *Floire and Blancheflor* that do not exploit the hagiographic potential, such as the French and Middle English poems, we still see Blancheflor as a model of continuity through her obvious virtue (that is, obvious to everyone but the King and Queen), and Floire as the one who leaves all to find her, and who converts at the end, although, admittedly, not with any noticeable religious fervor. The Old Norse prose version is unusual, it would seem, because Blankiflúr is the one who is struck by conscience. The Chronicle and the *Filocolo* both make much of the personal growth of the hero and the continuing virtue and exemplarity of the heroine, but it is *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* that most exploits the concomitant religious zeal of the convert by showing Flores to be both verbally and martially militant: he travels through Spain spreading the word of God and he conquers neighboring enemies who refuse to share his love for his newfound God.

In the *Filocolo*, what is in keeping with the sense that this is a male text, a kind of male hagiography, is the fact that the priest, Ilario, writes the story, we are told, “of the young king”: not the story of the lovers, or the conversion of Florio and Biancifiore, but the story of the male protagonist alone. Thematically, however, although Filocolo seems sincere in his conversion, the circumstances do not resemble in any way a radical discontinuity on the personal level: he readily accepts the new God and renounces the pagan gods with no apparent difficulty or conflict of conscience. Filocolo rather smoothly and easily decides to become a Christian on the basis of Ilario’s power of storytelling, when he recounts the seven ages of the world and Jesus Christ’s redemption of mankind.

As critics have rightly noted, the pagan gods thwart Florio, but they are also just as responsible for the array of triumphs the hero and heroine achieve. Even King Felix is rather easily convinced to convert when God appears to him and threatens to destroy his kingdom if he does not accept the true faith, even though the entire story has been characterized by a series of earthly appearances by the pagan gods who have governed the actions of all the characters. This apparition is far from unusual, however; as Elihu informs Job: “For God speaks in one way, and in two, though man does not perceive it. In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falls upon men, while they slumber on their beds, then he opens the ears of men, and terrifies them with warnings” (Job 33:14–16). Boccaccio employs a similar vocabulary in describing Felix’s reaction: “And discovering that

Florio's emissaries had not yet left, he had them called to him, and humbly begged them not to tell his son anything of what he had said the night before, since he had been terrified during the night by the threats of the new God, and had changed his mind" (V:80).

The findings of Bynum and Weinstein *et al.* that describe the narrative patterns of hagiography along the distinguishing lines of gender, confirm Dieter Mehl's observation that the Middle English homiletic romances normally present the maturing hero who undergoes a radical conversion and the usually constant, pious female whose holiness is maintained throughout the work. The pious romances, then, are not creating a new narrative pattern. Rather, they establish their affinity with full-fledged hagiography by imitating what would seem to be a historical and literary constant of male and female saints. Not surprisingly, Mehl's assessment of the Middle English homiletic romances does not include *Floris and Blancheflur* precisely because the hagiographic potential is undeveloped in this work. Whereas he says of other shorter romances that their affinity with saints' legends "shows itself in the moral and often didactic tone of these tales and in many story-motifs which are common to the romances and legends. Most of the shorter romances centre round a hero who is not only an exemplary knight and warrior, but such a faithful servant of God that he becomes almost a Saint" (120), it is clear that the Middle English *Floris* cannot fit this description, as the Old Norse and the Mediterranean versions certainly do.

WEAVING THE NARRATIVE: MEMORY, MYTH AND HISTORY

One goal of New Historicism is to examine literature as an agent engaged in constructing a particular cultural reality (Howard). The fictionalization of the history of the Moors in Spain and the historicization of the fictional love story, *Flores y Blancaflor*, is just such an example of literature as agent. In part, because the monumental Alfonsine chronicles, *Primera crónica general* and its variants and descendants, exist in hundreds of medieval manuscripts as real history and because we know in exactly which chapters of this history the chronicler interpolated the love story of Flores and Blancaflor, *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* provides us with an excellent example for exploration of a culture attempting to shape its own history through a particular view of history. We saw in Chapter One that the rewriting of historical events served, in part, an ongoing Christian

The road to conversion

effort to efface the reality of Muslim occupation of the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. The creation of the historicized *Flores y Blancaflor* functions within both a more general framework of Spanish history and a particular one.

Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor weaves layers of narrative memory through remembering and forgetting, covering or veiling and revealing, with a spiritual remembering that is based on an inversion of the Edenic paradigm of ingestion and a parallel with the ingestion of the Holy Eucharist. The Spanish chronicle-version of *Floire and Blancheflor* is a Christian romance of the restoration of the family contained within the rewriting of both Spanish history and fictional romance, such that Flores descends from the Moorish Kings of southern Spain, marries Blancaflor, and leaves two gifts to Christianity: he restores to Christianity the lands that had fallen to the Saracens in 711 and he links the Carolingian dynasty with the Moorish Kings of southern Spain (and the Damascan caliphate) when he marries his daughter Berta to Pepin the Short of France, these two being the future parents of Charlemagne.

The story of Flores and Blancaflor is one of the relentless drive toward Christianity that serves to counter, historically, spiritually, and narratively, the stories of the warring Moorish kingdoms of Al-Andalus. In spite of the trials and tribulations the lovers endure, there is a stabilizing quality to their narrative, which contrasts with the almost frenetic recounting of the military skirmishes, civil wars, and constant overturn of rulers that characterizes the chapters about the Andalusian Moorish kingdoms. With its references to a grander scale of universal Christian history, and its almost Biblical pattern of forgetting and remembering, the story of the lovers becomes one of transcendent, exemplary human lovers, figures of myth whose union brings them, and Spain, much closer to God.

We can discern the movement of romance in *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* in its episodes of ascent and descent, birth and rebirth, darkness and light – in general, the *peripateia* associated with the genre. The chronicle-version maintains its level of historicity by alternating chapters of the love story with chapters of a real historical chronicle. The story of the lovers becomes more than an exemplary tale, it becomes almost mythic. The chronicler accomplishes this by raising the love story to the level of history, and then by a technique that gives transcendent qualities to the narrative as a whole: its association with the fall and redemption of humankind.

Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor remains surprisingly accessible to the modern reader because the pattern of forgetting and remembering, even if we are not accustomed to calling it that, is a familiar one to us. Moreover, as twentieth-century readers we tend, understandably, to read through the modern novel with its recognizable historical worlds. The weaving of chronicle and fiction that we encounter in *Flores y Blancaflor* maintains an appeal for us that is not found in the other European versions of the love story. This is not a claim for the Chronicle as early novel, but an attempt to understand what effect this combination of genres has on us as readers.

Less accessible to us, to be sure, but still recoverable, is the social logic of the text in this case, the particular historical situation that I believe gave rise to the creation of the Chronicle, that is, a reading of *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* as contemporary political allegory. As I demonstrated in Chapter One, the composition of the Spanish *Flores y Blancaflor* probably occurred shortly before, during or shortly after the reign of Alfonso X's son Sancho IV (1284–95), whose right to the throne was challenged by many supporters of Alfonso's half-French grandson, Alfonso de la Cerda, son of the French princess, Blanche. Chronicles during this time tended to be composed with great attention to genealogy and lineage, and political realms focused on claims to their thrones based on dynasties and lineage. *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* supports, first of all, inheritance through lineage, and secondly, but more importantly for late thirteenth-century Spain, a dynasty created from the marriage of a Spanish prince (Flores) and a French countess (Blancaflor), which rather accurately reflects contemporary events in Castile.

Another genre comes into play in the Chronicle, and, again, it addresses both a large context and a particular historical situation. Geraldine Barnes called attention to the features in the Old Norse *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr* that resemble a *regimen principum*, or "mirror of princes," but we know that both the Spanish Chronicle and the *Filocolo* also resemble these medieval manuals of good government. In concentrating on principles of good government, and on the importance of just and wise counselors and jurists, the Chronicle is both general and specific. This kind of advice, prevalent in medieval works, serves audiences of several centuries. Moreover, some of the advice, especially when it deals with abstracts such as mercy and justice, makes sense to a twentieth-century reader. But it also has a specific resonance for a particular audience, the Castilian

The road to conversion

nobility of late thirteenth-century Spain. As we saw in Chapter One, Alfonso el Sabio's admiration for, and reliance on, Roman law and even Roman jurists in his court angered the Castilian nobility, who believed that they were at a disadvantage. The King, they believed, should rely on the advice of his own people, and they, for their part, should be judged in legal issues by their peers and not by foreigners. *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* addresses this indirectly by showing the resistance to Christianity by Flores's most trusted adviser, and the opening of the adviser's eyes to the wisdom and beauty of Christianity precisely when he studies the activities of the legal representative that the Pope has sent to Spain to be Flores's Christian adviser on matters of both government and religion.

We have already seen how *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* develops what we can call a mythical imperialism by recasting early Spanish history and the fictional, exemplary lovers Flores and Blancaflor as founders of the Carolingian dynasty. In addition, we have seen how the Chronicle's structure resembles medieval romance. This is so in two important ways: through adaptations of love and adventure, on the one hand, and violence and fraud, or *forza* and *froda* as Frye calls them, on the other.

Frye maintains, quite correctly, that the love and adventures of aristocratic romance often become simply sex and violence in the more popular and less literary or stylized romances throughout many centuries. It stands to reason, then, that a romance with goals of transcendence can just as easily idealize love and adventure as a popular one can emphasize human or carnal qualities of the same. In its de-emphasis of the human love story of Flores and Blancaflor and emphasis on Christian marriage and spiritual salvation, *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* transforms love and adventure, sex and violence, into dynasty and conversion.

Forza and *froda*, violence and fraud, undergo a transformational process as well. Fraud can mean concealment, disguise, deception: in sum, cunning. Chapter Two demonstrated how the cunning and ingenuity found in the northern versions of *Floire and Blancheflor*, as movers of the plot, and as pleasurable tricks that the reader enjoys, become intertwined in the southern versions with Divine Intervention and God's plan for the characters. When violence does occur in the Chronicle, it is not gratuitous or simply for the reader's pleasure in battles and the like, but part of a Divine Plan. Consequently, the chronicler does not dwell on violent details; even the skirmish

Generic crossroads

between Flores, the King of Babylon and the caliph is part of the design, for the King pardons Flores and Blancaflor when he recalls how Flores had helped him in his battle with the Caliph. Even the *froda* of the narrative, the veiling and revealing, shows the transformation of cunning into something quasi-religious.

WEAVING THE NARRATIVE: MULTIPLE DISCOURSES IN *IL FILOCOLO*

“New happenings require new forms of speaking” Filocolo, in *Il Filocolo*

Whereas the Chronicle moves towards a predetermined end of ultimate truths, Boccaccio’s concerns are often metaliterary, as exemplified by his exploration of which discourse prevails, or dominates, and how it does so. Boccaccio’s tale does indeed move towards resolution, and is a much more masterful combination of sacred and secular elements than has been noted by critics. Yet, at the end, the reader remains with a certain uneasiness that the frame and inner tale are somehow at odds. *Il Filocolo* presages the *Decameron*, in a general sense, in its use of cornice and inner story, but more specifically by the discordant features of these two: while the cornice and inner story share many linking elements, they also oppose each other to some degree. Is this a moral framework joined to a moral tale, or an ambiguous moral framework, with a resultant polysemous text?

One discourse already described is the economic one that joins the circumstances of the love quest. When Florio announces his intention to search for his lost Biancifiore, he swears to his advisers and followers: “I am certain that wherever she may be, if we do not arrive there first, the fame of her great beauty will make her manifest, and she cannot be hidden. And there, by love or guile or money or force, I intend to have her back” (III:67). This statement is a metaphor for the inevitability of the coming of Christianity, for, like Biancifiore, Christianity has a fame that cannot be hidden. Moreover, Florio’s vow is almost a narrative manifesto, for the rescue of Biancifiore entails precisely the four elements he mentions: love, guile, money and force. As shown in the previous chapter, the love story as quest – and as a discourse of economics – can be seen as a circle, as established by the effect of opening and closing Biancifiore’s personal tribulations with the visits to Sisife’s inn. With the love-pilgrimage finished, the

human love of Filocolo and Biancifiore, of such concern to the pagan gods, is no longer the issue. We move to a different plane, and the pagan gods are no longer important to Filocolo and Biancifiore.

Beyond the inscribed love quest within the larger and ultimately spiritual quest of Florio and Biancifiore, we can ascertain abundant ways in which Boccaccio unifies his story, weaving the narrative with the multiple discourses of various genres. Let us now consider other events and ideas that contribute to the “medieval discursive hybridism” (Vance, *Mervelous Signals* 119, 155) that Boccaccio clearly demonstrates, but that, at the same time, give the work a strong narrative unity. We will look at the unifying forces both within the main story and between the frame and the internal tale. The individual significances of all the following points have been discussed in the previous chapters, but it is essential to review them briefly as a collective entity that Boccaccio employs in order to shape and direct the narrative.

First of all, hagiographic elements open and close the *Filocolo*. The work can be seen, as it can in some of the other versions of the story, as a single pilgrimage. The thwarted pilgrimage of Biancifiore’s parents, Giulia and Lelio, is recreated and fulfilled by Florio and Biancifiore, which leads to a vision of Christian *communitas* based on late Roman models. This vision is based, moreover, on remembering in a literal sense, unlike the purely metaphorical narrative memory of the Chronicle. The inscription on Giulia’s tomb refers to her “unknown God”; this God becomes known at the end, and revered, and the story becomes one of tomb recovery, such as medieval hagiography celebrated in the recovery of saints’ bones and their distribution as holy relics, when the lovers find Lelio – whose interred body shows no decay – and bury him and Giulia in Rome. Thus, instead of the love quest of the Old French and Middle English versions, we have a work that focuses on the restoration of family in a Christian context, much as the hagiographic legends of Eustace or Placidus develop the theme of the family separated, alienated, and ultimately triumphant through reunion.

The themes of knowing – of knowledge, especially spiritual knowledge – and tomb recovery are further linked to an already explored subtext of the *Filocolo*, the Emmaus journey that follows the discovery of the empty sepulchre, in which the “pilgrims” know, but do not know, the risen Christ, see, but do not see Him. Filocolo’s own journey, and by extension and conversion that of his entire country,

consists of a journey of knowledge – of oneself and of the known God – climaxing in the inner stirrings and spiritual awakening of Filocolo when he gazes upon the crucified Christ.

Early in Book I, King Felix's allegorical dream presages the ending of the book, when the two lovers marry and begin to govern his kingdom. Completely ignoring the idea that the dream may have any personal significance whatsoever, the King continues to separate the lovers, causing the narrator to use hagiographic discourse to describe what would in any other case be a secular situation: "O king, you think you are bringing cold water to the fire, and you are adding logs [...] How much more wisely you would behave in letting them simply live in their simple flames rather than try to make them feel by force how bitter or sweet are the sighs that come from loving martyrdom!" (I:9). That the flames of love have already interfered with the children's ability to learn, and even to speak, also incorporates a religious allusion, that of the Tower of Babel and the loss of understandable speech. *Il Filocolo* documents a journey towards recovered speech: the children's loss of speech in Book I, after the poison of Cupid affects them, is reversed later when both Biancifiore and Florio refine the skills of their personal discourse, especially by incorporating the all-important moral dimension that must inform meaningful and profound language, as we see evidenced by Biancifiore's comments about the honest love of one's neighbors and Florio's more dramatic pentecostal gift of speech near the end of the work.

King Felix finds that his intentional actions are thwarted and transformed in ways he never imagined, and these actions are linked to generic transformations, as in the above progression from a martyrdom associated strictly and ironically with earthly love to near-sainthood in a purely religious context. His early exhortations to his son to travel, to learn and to grow in order to acquire the appropriate qualities for a future king, are accepted by Florio not as a journey in search of kingly attitudes, but as a pilgrimage of love. The King's willful travesty of the chivalric vows of the peacock provide a narrative thread for the story, but these vows are fulfilled, ultimately, not in a purely chivalric context, but after the conversion of Spain at the coronation of Florio and Biancifiore, which gives them a more spiritual context.

Brown tells us that a main relationship of the Roman community was that of patron and client, and that gift-giving "was the traditional

symbol of this relationship" (45–46). After the baptism of the pagans in *Il Filocolo*, a discussion ensues about gift-giving and leadership, and Florio is recognized as a spiritual as well as a civic ruler. When the chivalric vows of the peacock – left unfulfilled earlier by the King's selling of Bianciflore to the merchants – are fulfilled in Book V by the giving of gifts, they are no longer associated with chivalry, but with the celebrations of the baptisms of the hero and heroine, their Christian marriage, and therefore the beginnings of a new Christian community.

The questions of government, so important throughout the story, are linked to religious models of community and are not merely an independent theme. Moreover, the thread of the vows of the peacock unifies one of the secondary, though nonetheless important, motifs of the work, the issue of good government and wise rulers. The civic discourse of good government – of the city of man – can, in turn, be linked to religious discourses, those of human strivings towards the City of God, both in the recognition of the ultimate spiritual reward and the need to recreate as best we can an imperfect model of that City here on earth.

The question of forced conversion that is found in *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* seemingly has little counterpart in *Il Filocolo*. In fact, this changed feature from the Spanish to the Italian work holds, I believe, the key to resolving Boccaccio's troublesome ending of the dismissal of the pagan gods (from the plot and the characters' lives). The matter of literature becomes the subject of Boccaccio's text as well as the compelling force in the rest of the book, even through the theme of conversion. Except for the pagan King Felix, no one in Boccaccio's tale openly objects to the new religion. Given that Boccaccio has coincided with many of the general subjects of the Chronicle, especially regarding the conversion material, it is not unlikely that he coincides as well with the topic of forced conversion. The Chronicle introduces a variety of countervoices to the proposed exchange of paganism for Christianity: Flores's followers, his revered counselor Gaydon, his father and mother, and the ruler of Spain, Yuçaf Alchari, who refuses to deny Mahomad, who, he reasons, helped him gain all the land that he now possesses (f. 47). Yuçaf Alchari's loyalty to his god is rewarded by Flores's conquering and subsequent repossession of all that pagan land. Boccaccio's human countervoice is that of King Felix, who anticipates the readers' reaction to the developments by asking, rhetorically, if his son is

willing to abandon so easily the gods who had done so much on his behalf. However, a much more vehement countervoice emerges in the work: the text itself.

Except for King Felix's "forced conversion," Boccaccio does not deal with the topic within the main storyline, but that does not mean he is not profoundly concerned with the topic itself. If we recall Robert Hollander's revision of his earlier opinion of the works of the younger Boccaccio, we find a key phrase: "resistant material." Believing now, as he does, that the happy Christian endings of the *Filocolo*, *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine* and *Ninfale fiesolano* "are, perhaps, too good to be true, leading the reader to wonder whether they might not be meant to be perceived as having been imposed upon resistant material" (*Last Fiction* 25), this incisive comment describes precisely what I think occurs in *Il Filocolo*.

Where Boccaccio departs most radically from the Chronicle in terms of the development of the story (and I leave aside for the moment such digressions as the *questioni d'amore* and the metamorphosis of Idalogos) is in the constant presence and activity of the pagan gods and in creating a frame-story about human love. If Boccaccio were interested simply in a work of hagiographic dimension with a conventional Christian ending, he certainly had a model in the Chronicle (or whatever version he followed that had the conversion material in it). But he was interested in conversion of a different kind, a violent, though literary, conversion – that is to say, the imposition of the expected Christian ending, with its concomitant moralizing quality, upon material that had consistently resisted the impending conversion.

Even if Boccaccio had utilized *Floire and Blancheflor* in its French form as his sole source – which he clearly did not – this would not diminish in any way the points made above because he still would have been responsible for the complex integration of the pagan gods into a story that previously had confined their presence and activity to a minimum. Moreover, there is a more pointed irony if we accept that, instead of transforming a secular story, as the aristocratic French poem is, into one with a Christian ending, Boccaccio transforms a known Christian work, as the Chronicle most certainly is, into an ironic Christian one. Ovid informs much of the narrator's work and guides his pen, as well as inspiring the art of loving that Florio and Biancifiore strive to maintain; but the narrator must relinquish his role, as primary creator of the text, to the priest Ilario, who, having

The road to conversion

returned to Rome, “in a systematic way [...] wrote down in the Greek language the story of the young king, as one who was well informed” (V:96).

It is as if the public’s “horizon of expectations” were being anticipated by Boccaccio, even though the material itself, content with the government of the pagan gods, is a rather unwilling convert. Boccaccio’s counterpoint to the prelates’ smugness and religious zeal that conversion must take place at any cost is his own violent act of forcing the pagan material – the love story and the story of the gods’ role in their human subjects’ lives – to conform to the will of the more powerful Christian material, and therefore to the public expectation, forming, to borrow Vance’s terminology, a work of centripetal force. His model is always Dante, and in subsuming the pagan material to a Christian didacticism, Boccaccio remains the loyal “minor servant” (Book V:97) that he claims to be. As Smarr points out, the two writers that the narrator of *Il Filocolo* admits to following are Ovid and Dante; but unlike Smarr (60), I do not see a graceful merging of the pagan Ovid with the Christian didacticism (in the manner of Dante) that is given the final voice in the work, but rather a jarring shift in the text that resembles the radical discontinuities of the great human converts, such as Augustine, and even the Flores of the Chronicle.

These are literary concerns that do not (and cannot) address the question of the author’s personal beliefs. In Boccaccio’s case, if we accept irony and the narrator’s ironic distance as typical of the later works, then, as Hollander exhorts us, we should be willing to admit the possibility for the earlier works (*Last Fiction* 25). Moreover, as Mazzotta so effectively demonstrated, Boccaccio was profoundly concerned with literary matters, with the “marginality of literature,” so we should be willing to consider a similar authorial interest before the production of the *Decameron*. Clearly, one of Boccaccio’s great concerns as a moral authority and as a writer is the ongoing dilemma of how to deal with ancient literature in a requisite contemporary Christian framework.

I suggested in Chapter Three that the *Filocolo* is a polysemous text whose subtext is power. Let us see how this is so. The focus of Chapter Two is on the paradoxical function of *engin* and *conseil* in tandem with the will of the gods, and simultaneously at odds with their will. But if we ask ourselves what would have been different had Filocolo not converted to Christianity, the answer is not very much at

all. In considering the personal growth of the character, we note that his worship of the pagan gods did not prevent him from arranging a kind of marriage ceremony before the consummation of his and Biancifiore's love; the adventures of striving to recover Biancifiore strengthened his martial abilities; and the entire proceedings have, apparently, caused him to grow in wisdom, as evidenced by the sound instructions and advice he gives Caleon regarding the building and government of the city. The deathbed advice of his father on these same virtues seems almost superfluous, since Filocolo already embodies these traits. Filocolo's growth as an individual resembles, in some ways, the maturation of the hero so prevalent in French romances, a growth that owes much to the action that was set in motion by the pagan gods.² In fact, it is only because we know (on re-reading the text) that Filocolo converted to Christianity that we read backward and revise our interpretation of the gods' activities in order to conclude that they unwittingly provided Filocolo with the opportunity to embark on a Christian pilgrimage. We immediately cloak in spiritual garb Filocolo's phrases, such as his insistence that his quest to find Biancifiore is a pilgrimage. And yet we can read the *Filocolo* leaving the gods intact, as having initiated the action and as having brought to fruition all that they had predicted and designed: in this respect, it is the Christian God who is superfluous to the story. Smarr and Kelly, for example, observe that Boccaccio allegorizes the gods in the opening of the work, but not within the work. That is because it is the Christian God that must be made to fit the story, not the other way around.

In the beginning of the story of Florio and Biancifiore, the reader wants to transpose the pagan gods to a Christian significance, as related in the prefatory material. Yet it is clear that they are not merely Christian symbols, but characters functioning on their own. The reader simply gives up after a while and accepts the gods on their own capricious terms. Then, at the end, we see that they are to be rejected, but we are left with the fact that they carried the story from the beginning to an acceptable, and logical, end even without the conversion material.

As we saw in Chapter Three, storytelling is powerful in the

² See, for example, Anne Scott's discussion of *King Horn*, in which she cites the work of Hanning, Auerbach, Duby and Stephen Knight: "Critics have long noticed this element of 'growing up' in medieval French romances, which tend toward more stylistically sophisticated and psychologically astute character presentations than their English counterparts" (41).

The road to conversion

Filocolo. What impels Filocolo to request baptism is the overwhelming power of Ilario's story. As we saw in the previous chapter, Flores in the Chronicle comes to Christianity through shipwreck, the appearance of Saint Augustine, and the powerful influence of the Christian breast milk that he consumed as a baby; Filocolo's conversion rests solely on Ilario's ability of verbal persuasion. Time and space converge in the Roman church when the lovers' birth, Filocolo's entry into the tower, Ilario's lesson, and Filocolo's subsequent speech to his followers tie together with the motif of Pentecost, and its significance of the relationship of grace and language. The Word of God, Ilario informs Filocolo, as found in the "four writers of the holy works of our maker," is symbolized as one Book with one Author: "and all of them, however many and different they were, have a single voice dictating to them, namely the Holy Spirit, and may his grace descend on you and remain ever with you" (Book V:57).

There are two narrators apart from the author himself, that is, Ilario and the narrator who composed the book at the behest of the woman he wants to please. Their intentions differ: the first narrator is charged with writing a little book "in which the birth, the falling in love, and the adventures of those two lovers should all be contained, to the very end" (Book I:1); Ilario's focus is not the lovers, but "the story of the young king" (Book V:96), as if the entire story were not, in fact, a story of love, but primarily one of conversion, and the conversion of a man, which recalls the general historical tradition of conversion narratives as often being associated with men, and the specific association of such men with the paradigmatic Paul and Augustine.

The lady who commands the writing of the book refers to the dishonor done the lovers' memory by leaving it solely in the realm of the spoken word. Justice is served by the story's transposition to the written word. And yet, we come to find out, the story has already been written by Ilario, presumably with all the material of the pagan gods, who are superseded by the supremacy of the Christian God, that is to say, by the power of the written word; for it is Ilario who gives the last word to the lovers' story, and it is done in such a manner that the narrator of the present work records Ilario's tale as being that of the young king and not of the lovers. The narrator appropriates this Christian material and turns it to his advantage in the question of love, usurping the power that had been Ilario's to give the last word.

As a metaphor for his "little book," the narrator appropriates and

transforms two of the primary images of the inner tale: the ship and the pilgrimage. Just as Venus and her association with the sea are overpowered by Filocolo's vision of the Ship of the Church immediately following the scene of the amorous debate in the garden, and Filocolo's pilgrimage of love becomes the unwitting fulfillment of Biancifiore's parents' pilgrimage, so, too, the overwhelming Christianity of the ending of the inner tale is subtly subverted by the re-contextualization of the ship as the narrator's book of love and the pilgrimage as that of the written word. The issue of power, repression, and even forced conversion arises again when the narrator extols his book to respond to "those who speak against your pleasant matter, [by offering] the long labor of Ilario as evidence of its truth" (V:97). In other words, the narrator overpowers Ilario's conversionary tale and reconverts it to a love story, one that is perhaps not without ironic play of sacred and secular.

Natalie Davis documents, in her study on sixteenth-century pardon tales, the prevalent linguistic play on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ and men's physical erections (30–32). Boccaccio himself resorts to this joke in the *Decameron* when he calls Rustico the hermit's physical reaction to Alibech as "la resurrezion della carne" (Day III:10). Is it unreasonable to assume that Boccaccio may have employed this relationship elsewhere? The entire *Filocolo*, as I have shown through examination of the liturgical and festive subtexts, is constructed on the basis of an interplay between the sacred and the secular, events which occur on feastdays or holy days, and the particular historical events of the characters, including the narrator's encounter with the beloved in the frame. While the inner tale leads to a conflated scene of the normal reunion and re-established harmony of romance with Christian *communitas*, and celebrates the fulfilled promise of Christ's Resurrection, the frame announces the expectation of a similar end, but surely not a religious one. If the "little book" does its job, the Christian text of Resurrection will lead to an amorous encounter (physical resurrection), certainly not a religious one.

On a theoretical level, Boccaccio tacitly concerns himself with how Christian authors were to deal with ancient writing. Both the *Chronicle* and the *Filocolo* generate powerful drives away from a romance structure of love story, quest and adventure towards something both historical and truthful. In *Il Filocolo* the narrative converts to Christianity at the end, but Boccaccio recovers the story for romance by framing it within his own personal context of a love

quest. This movement from pagan to Christian and back should be regarded as controlled vacillation, for Boccaccio's method does not embrace stasis, consistency, or absolutism: the text not only permits more than one reading, it encourages multiple readings.

What happens in the *Filocolo* is a collision of literary worlds, of pilgrimage, confession and conversion literature. It does not hold that pilgrimage relates exclusively to the love quest and conversion to the religious transformation, because too many of the images, speeches, events and characters move back and forth between these worlds. When the narrator aligns himself first with two human love stories (his own and that of Florio and Biancifiore), then with Ilario and his story of divine love, and then again with his own human love story, it is impossible to pinpoint a single or univocal authorial intention. When a reader criticizes the love story and its pleasant matter – the narrator tells us at the end – that reader criticizes a Christian story, Ilario's text.

Other chapters in the study have asked "What is remembered?" It may be well to ask "What survives at the end of *Il Filocolo*?" and to recall that what survives is, in one sense, the peacock. Apart from the transformation of chivalric ritual to one in celebration of Florio's and Biancifiore's marriage and conversion to Christianity, the reappearance of the peacock may serve a poetic value as well. In his later work, *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, Boccaccio describes Dante's mother's dream of her unborn child. In the dream, Dante's mother gives birth beneath a tree to a son, who begins to eat berries. The son changes suddenly into a shepherd, who begins to eat the leaves of the tree; just as suddenly, the shepherd is transformed into a peacock. Boccaccio dedicates the final chapter to a lengthy interpretation of the dream, which he claims relates most specifically to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. In short, the peacock, legendarily known for its incorruptible flesh, symbolizes the posthumous fame of the poet (Rowland, *Birds* 127). "The soft tread of the peacock signifies the humility of the style," which Boccaccio says "is demanded in comedies, as is known to those who understand what comedy means" (77).

The survival of the peacock in *Il Filocolo* may represent the survival of the poet's work, which is clearly the hope the narrator expresses in the frame. He acknowledges that his own work is in a "low style," but it is, after all, appropriate to the subject matter of amorous encounters. While *Il Filocolo* may be considered one of Boccaccio's *opere minori*, in its concern for literature and history, for moral

Generic crossroads

authority and literary matters, the problem of imaginative literature and the awareness of genres, it presages in very interesting ways the formal concerns of a more sophisticated Boccaccio, as seen, for example, in his masterpiece, the *Decameron*.

Epilogue

Poetics of continuation

This part of the study explores the poetics of continuation from a variety of perspectives, theoretical as well as chronological. The first section examines the notion of continuations, sequels or potential sequels through the introduction of the progeny of Floire and Blancheflor. The second section deals with the Middle English pious romance, *Emaré*, and the significance of the reference to Floire and Blancheflor within the story. In the third section, I briefly discuss Keats's awareness and borrowing of the love story for his "Eve of St. Agnes." The fourth section introduces a fascinating topic that far exceeds the scope of this study: the pervasive influence of *Floire and Blancheflor* in Hispanic balladry, from the Middle Ages through the twentieth century. Finally, I discuss briefly the influence of *Floire and Blancheflor* on courtship and conjugal patterns in late twentieth-century Spanish society.

THE STRANGEST TREASON: GENEALOGY AND TEXTUAL LINEAGE

In France, Germany and England, the union of Floire and Blancheflor produced a single heir, Berthe, whose fame rests, aside from being Berthe "au grand pie," on being the mother of Charlemagne. In the Old Norse-Icelandic *riddarasaga*, *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*, Flóres and Blankiflúr produce no heir, but they do found a monastery and a nunnery. A later *riddarasaga*, *Sigurdar saga pögla*, modifies the legend to describe the couple's only child, Sendentiana, who becomes one of Frakkland's famous maiden-kings. She, in turn, gives birth to an illegitimate child, Flóres, offspring of a great Norwegian hero, Sigthur (who has his own saga). This young grandson of Flóres and Blankiflúr cuts such a manly figure that at the age of four his returning father, Sigthur, takes him to be eighteen. Since the Italian

Cantare's manuscript stops at the palace of the Emir, we do not know what the author may have intended regarding progeny. The Boccaccian narrative and expansive genealogy is self-contained; there is no sequel to the story. The hero and heroine in the *Filocolo* celebrate the joyful arrival of little Lelio, named after Biancifiore's slain father, causing a recursive view of lineage – a rather exact demonstration of a new life replicating and replacing another's life. In Spain, we find conflicting reports. The prose romance claims that Blancaflor's and Flores's only child is one Gordi6n, who governs Christianized Spain after Flores's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. As mentioned in Part One of this study, short summaries of the story of Flores and Blancaflor occur in a long prose romance, *Gran conquista de Ultramar*, and in Garc3a de Salazar's monumental miscellany, *Libro de las bienandanzas e fortunas*. The text of *Gran conquista* states firmly that "Despues que tornaron en su tierra, no hobieron otro hijo ni hija sino a Berta, que fue casada con el rey Pepino de Francia" (131). ("Upon returning to their homeland, they had no other son or daughter than Bertha, who married King Pepin of France.") Garc3a de Salazar's work, composed around 1450, also provides the genealogy of Flores and Blancaflor: parents of Berta, grandparents of Charlemagne. Although *Gran conquista* was composed around 1300, it was not printed until 1503 (in Salamanca); the prose romance, *Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor*, dates from the 1530s. We are faced, then, with the fact that contradictory genealogical data circulated in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Spain about the family of Floire and Blancheflor. The question of continuation implies one of origin: even though other countries produced more than one version of Floire and Blancheflor, the Spanish works provide the clearest example of the textual and generic configurations that produce paternal texts and their descendants.

All three stories, *Floire et Blancheflor*, *Berte aus grans pies* and *Mainet* (the exploits of the youthful Charlemagne), incorporate elements of romance, hagiography and epic. All three stories circulated independently of each other in medieval Europe. At some point, Berthe became linked to Charlemagne and to Floire and Blancheflor, so that Charlemagne was known as the grandson of the loyal lovers. This joining of historical and literary personages has been assumed to be extremely early because the aristocratic French version links them genealogically. But nowhere is the joining of these legends through

Epilogue

genealogy more intricately executed than in Spain, for it is only in that country that we find a prosified chronicle version of all three stories, interpolated within chapters of a manuscript of the Alfonsine *Estoria de España*. To examine these stories in conjunction with each other is to consider externally topics that have engaged us elsewhere in our study of the internal examination of the varying versions of the legend: origin, both genealogical and textual, social order, Christianity, poetic continuation and history. We can focus the discussion further by examining the following points: the chronicler as linking device, genealogy of the family, thematic genealogy and figural representation.

As Stephen Nichols tells us:

Universal history aspired to tell the story of the cosmos as a unified and related construct testifying to the continuing creative power of the divinity. Scripture provided the model for this view, and a primary purpose for writing history lay in demonstrating the extent to which the physical and social world conformed to the scriptural model, when each was properly understood. (*Romanesque Signs* 1)

As we have seen in other chapters, the story of Floire and Blancheflor in some versions, but especially within Spain itself, is the history of the Christianization of that nation. It recalls, in fact, elements of Eden, and it chronicles the physical and spiritual redemption of the lovers themselves. This tale characterizes the fusion of history as the Graeco-Roman model of empires and the Old Testament model of genealogy. From the fourth century on, stemming from the universal history of Eusebius, “the defining mode of universal history was that of genealogy” and “in the Eusebius–Jerome world chronicle [there was] no way of separating the sequence of events from paternal succession” (Bloch 37).

We have already seen how genealogical succession functions within *Floire and Blancheflor*; let us now follow succession through the idea of the paternal text. Following the paradigmatic model of Eusebius, chroniclers dedicated themselves to the rewriting and updating of universal histories. The twelfth-century *Chronographia* of Sigebert of Gembloux inspired the efforts of many continuators, including, we recall, the *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* which begins: “Cuenta Sigiberto en su estoria que fizo de los reyes moros que ovo en Africa que asenorearon a Espana, que fue uno dellos Ysca miramomelin e que ovo un fijo que dixerón Fines” (f. 5vb) “Sigiberto recounts in the

history that he made of the African Moorish Kings who reigned in Spain, that one of them was Ysca the emperor, and that he had a son named Fines." As explained in Chapter One, Diego Catalán concluded that there was a (now lost) chronicle of the Moorish kings of Spain by the Latin chronicler Gilbert, Sujulbert, or Sigebert; Gómez Pérez denied that the references in chronicles to still other chronicles were the result of lost works, and argued that they were simply part of the expected base of established continuity and authority. As he points out, the opening of *Flores y Blancaflor* is one of the few times that the text says anything about Sigiberto, other than an occasional "cuenta Sigiberto en su estoria," which, to him, indicates a nod to the authority without there being an anterior text. Whether there really was a lost history is not the point here, although the rediscovery of such a text would perhaps enable critics to formulate more definite opinions on the origin of the legend. What is important is the creation in the chronicle of a textual family, three legends linked by references to the same chronicler, one who is widely known for his Latin universal history, the paternal text, the *Chronographia*.

Paternal succession is introduced in these opening lines by connecting the young fictional Fines to the historical Moorish kings who do appear in *Estoria de España*. The chronicle is the only European version of the legend to be concerned with Flores's lineage in a way that provides more information than that he was the son of the King of Spain. We learn here how Flores's father discovered that he was not to inherit his father Ysca's kingdom and how, as a consolation, he chose to rule southern Spain. Here, Blancaflor's impeccable lineage as the daughter of a French count and countess, as she is in the aristocratic French and Middle English versions as well, establishes her as worthy of being Charlemagne's grandmother.

To underscore this, the text reiterates that God had promised Blancaflor's mother, Berta, that because of her goodness and suffering for Christianity's sake, she would see her family rewarded. The text very specifically reveals that the reward is one of lineage. Saint Augustine appears to the monks and reveals that God's will dictates that both Flores and Blancaflor accept Christianity and that Jesus Christ desires it also "por amor de la madre de aquella muger que sienpre le sirviera bien e lealmente, e que fuera cativada en el su servicio, e e por esto que le querie dar en gualardon que aquella su fija que fuesse cristiana, e que del linaje della oviesse en el reyno de Francia quien a el sienpre sirviesse" (f. 42r). ("For love of the mother

Epilogue

of that woman [Blancaflor], who always served Him well and loyally, and who was captured in His service, and for this reason He wants to give in return the gift that her daughter be Christian, and that there should be one of her lineage in the kingdom of France, who should always serve Him.") A monk offers another prophecy to Flores and Blancaflor about the birth of Charlemagne: "E mucho fueron maravillados de aquello que dixera el prior . . . que del linaje dellos avrie en Francia quien sienpre sirviese a Dios, e nunca se les partio del coracon fasta que lo vieron, asy como la estoria lo contara adelante" (f. 42). ("And they marvelled greatly at what the prior said, that of their line there would be in France one who would always serve God, and this [promise] never left their hearts until it came to pass, as the history will relate further on.") Just as the pattern of promise and fulfillment, forgetting and remembering, formed part of the internal structure of *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, it continues as a means of linking stories within the entire manuscript.

It is clear that, although the Chronicle *Flores y Blancaflor* never refers specifically to Charlemagne as the Old French and Middle English poems do, the nobility of lineage and unswerving devotion to Christianity are developed as part of a narrative plan to lead to the legend of Charlemagne. The story of Floire and Blancheflor needed no other recommendation to bring it to the attention of the medieval public, as the many European versions would indicate; but stories were often invented, or older ones linked to the legend of Charlemagne, simply because these Carolingian legends were a medieval equivalent to contemporary best-sellers.

Thematic genealogy in the trilogy results from the variations of a folk-motif in the three legends, but it occurs in a special way. Schlauch includes Adenet le Roi's *Berthe au grand pie* as an example of the much-employed medieval plot device of the calumniated queen (*Chaucer's Constance*). The legend of Floire and Blancheflor differs in essence from the calumniated queen tales because its very core requires that love and marriage be viewed as a necessary precursor to the hero's spiritual redemption and the happy consequences of Spain's conversion to Christianity, so much more is at stake than a simple reversal of a wrong. In the Spanish Chronicle, the three heroines of *Flores y Blancaflor*, *Berta* and *Mainete* are linked by the thematic device of false accusations and exile, although at different and succeeding points of their queenship. Blancaflor suffers a false accusation before she marries Flores; their daughter, Berta, whose

wicked nurse has substituted her own daughter in the bedchamber of Berta's bridegroom, King Pepin, is framed for the attempted murder of the false Queen Berta; Charlemagne's wife is accused of adultery with a dwarf. Calumny was a frequent device in medieval romance, but it remains far from being a constant; however, its presence in these three legends may account in part for whatever creative impulse resulted in this internal secular typology.

The Chronicle employs figural representation, since Flores clearly can be seen as a type or *figura* of Charlemagne. Generally in narrative, certain events both preview and result from poetic continuation. All versions of *Floire and Blancheflor* concur in that Blancaflor's pregnant mother is captured by Floire's father during the pilgrimage to Saint James of Compostela. One of Charlemagne's most noted exploits is the recovery of the tomb of Saint James – a perfect example of how medieval authors subordinated chronological time to the more striking temporality of history as promise and fulfillment, peopled by type and antitype, given the inherent temporal contradiction that Charlemagne's great-grandmother's pilgrimage precedes his recovery of the great saint. Even though the specific episode of Charlemagne and Saint James does not appear in *Mainete*, which, after all recounts his youth, it was a widely popular image of the King that undoubtedly would be recalled to the public mind, which would easily make the association between the unfulfilled, aborted pilgrimage of the opening of *Flores y Blancaflor* and the successful mission of the French King later.

The Chronicle highlights the spiral nature of Christian history by, among other ways, showing Flores's and Blancaflor's conversion as the grand fulfillment of Blancaflor's parents' vow to Christianity. Historically, their conversion reverses the fall of Spain in 711 – that is, the Saracens' defeat of Roderic, the last Visigothic King – within fifty years of that cataclysmic event. Spanish history often displayed a sense of religious mission in its military encounters with the Moors. Spanish history did not limit itself to an identification of 1492, the fall of Granada to the Catholic Monarchs, as the only reversal of 711, in order to indicate the spiritual fall and redemption of the nation, or to an identification of the earlier, decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, which effectively reduced Moorish control of much of Spain. Instead, when we study the extant chronicles from the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries, we see that they portray a revisionist history that recasts both early and late Medieval Spain as subject to a

Epilogue

wave of spiritual falls and redemptions during the continuing conflict with the followers of Islam.

Another technique in the Chronicle, prefiguration, assures a broader view of this spiral history. Flores prefigures his grandson Charlemagne as a great defender of the faith, by establishing churches and bishoprics in southern Spain, and assuring Rome through violent acts and through his dealings with the Christian King of Asturias at that time, Fruela I “the cruel” (757–68), that the entire kingdom is Christian. The notion of the spiral nature of history, and Nichols’s references to history and its scriptural models, pave the way for our recognition of the fact that all of Flores’s efforts as King serve ultimately to increase and strengthen Christian territory. *Flores y Blancaflor* plays out, as so many episodes of history do, the fall and redemption of mankind, both spiritually, through Flores’s and Blancaflor’s conversion, and territorially, through the conversion of Spain – only to see this replayed yet again, and on a grander scale, as Charlemagne, the Holy Roman Emperor, seeks to augment and cement Christianity’s territorial control.

To summarize, we have seen how, in the Chronicle, two legends appear to derive from the first, and we have seen some of the ways in which this occurs. The authority Sigiberto, who does not appear in any other version of *Floire and Blancheflor*, but who does appear in the Alfonsine chronicle, *Primera crónica general*, is woven throughout the three stories. Flores’s lineage is traced to his grandparents and then forward to Charlemagne. The heroines, linked by blood and marriage, face a similar fate: calumny and shame, exile and ultimate vindication. And finally, Flores, as prefigurer of Charlemagne, precedes his grandson both in textual additions, as in the pilgrimage material of Saint James of Compostela, and in his actions, as defender of the faith.

All of this appears to take us a long way from the point of departure, the contradictory information about who is the only heir of Flores and Blancaflor, Berta or Gordi6n. But the answer leads us back to the question of origin, or at least of primitive versions. As we saw in Chapter One, the short description of the story of Flores and Blancaflor, parents of Berta, that is found in *Gran conquista de Ultramar* is matched only by the Spanish Chronicle, *Cr6nica de Flores y Blancaflor*. For example, it says in *Gran conquista* that Flores was “rey de Almeria” (“King of Almeria”) as he is in the French popular version and in the Chronicle, and that he “libr6 al rey de

Babilonia de mano de sus enemigos" (freed the King of Babylon from his enemies' hands), which occurs only in the Chronicle. It is a commonplace of *Floire and Blancheflor* criticism that the French popular version inspired the anonymous Italian version, *Cantare di Fiorio e Bianciflore*, and Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo*. It seems likely that the anonymous Spanish author of the sixteenth-century prose romance knew both the anonymous Italian version and the *Filocolo* in order to arrive at his adaptation, which contains the warfare found in the popular version, the conversion and lineage material, and the appropriation of epic structures of meaning found in Boccaccio.

In *Il Filocolo* little Lelio is named for his grandfather, Bianciflore's late father. The Spanish prose romance does not name the child after the grandfather, Miçer Persio, but the heir is, at least, a male one as in the Boccaccian narrative. Gordión, then, according to one version, ruled Spain while his father was in Rome. The 1503 printing of *Gran conquista*, faithful to the earliest known versions of the legend, maintains, as the only heir to the throne of the loyal lovers Flores and Blancaflor, Berta, wife of Pepin, mother of Charlemagne, as clearly outlined in the Chronicle.

What in this poetics of continuation constitutes a treason, much less a strange one? In the story of Berta contained in the Spanish Chronicle, Pepin's discovery that a servant had replaced his bride Berta in their bedchamber on their wedding night caused him and his courtiers to deem this story "la más estraña traición que nunca oyeran hablar," "the strangest treason they ever heard." This description suits both Berta's situation and that of the Spanish chronicle-version of *Flores y Blancaflor*, clearly a most important witness to the European corpus of the tale. By the time we reach the sixteenth century, Berta is forgotten; Gordión has been crowned, and his reign immortalized in the many Spanish reprintings (translated into French in 1554 by Jacques Vincent and then into English) in succeeding centuries, reducing even further the possibility that anyone would discover the contribution of the anonymous Spanish chronicler to the tale. Unlike the prose romance, the Chronicle, a version that inspired much of Boccaccio's story, and that appears to be closest to the original tale, somehow was reduced to nothing more than the brief summaries found in *Gran conquista de Ultramar* and Lope García de Salazar's *Libro de las bienandanzas e fortunas*. For such an artfully crafted tale and a generic and narrative testimony to the enduring power of a good story, this oblivion is indeed "una estraña traición."

Epilogue

“STUFFED WITH YMAGERE”: *EMARÉ*

In the mid-fourteenth-century Spanish masterpiece, *Libro de buen amor*, Juan Ruiz invokes the names of Flores and Blancaflor and Tristan and Isolde as revered symbols of fidelity. Much farther north, but around the same time period, the anonymous romancer of *Emaré* recalls the same two couples.

The only extant version of this Middle English romance, the story of the much-maligned heroine Emaré, is found in Cotton Caligula A.II: not among the shorter romances, but included with the religious works, “and this suggests ... that the poem was, for the compilers of the collection, a legend or a devotional tale” (Mehl 135). Although the exemplary heroine is not precisely a Christian martyr, her tale is marked by religious overtones: her exile occurs when she refuses to transgress the laws of God and commit incest with her father. Her many trials lead her, ultimately, to Rome, where the men who have wronged her come to beg her forgiveness and do penance. Emaré, a model of moral integrity, embodies among her most admirable traits the virtues of chastity and faith in God. Nothing reflects the true nature of Emaré’s character better than the mysterious and overwhelmingly beautiful robe fashioned for her by a pagan king’s daughter (ll.96–180). The robe functions as an inscribed visual text within the work: it contains elaborately wrought, jeweled embroiderings from four legendary and literary sources. In one corner appear “Ydoyne and Amadas,” “portrayed they wer wyth trewe-love-flour” (125), then “Trystram and Isowde” in another corner. In the third corner, “wyth gret honour, / Was Florys and Dam Blawncheflour” (145–46), who were also depicted with “trewe-love-flour”; the fourth corner shows “Of Babylon the sowdan sonne” (158). The pictorial representations, a fine example of medieval composite art which shows reception of a work (Nichols *Romanesque Signs*), combine the iconography of a tapestry with the didacticism of exemplary literature. Moreover, as Hanspeter Schelp explains, the robe is symbolic of Emaré’s virtues, for it is as beautiful as she is on both the outside and inside (105–13). The portraits function as allegorical representations of faith. An element of the supernatural, and perhaps hagiographic, intrudes whenever Emaré dons the robe, because she is described several times as “other-worldly”: “And when hyt was don her upon, / She semed non erthely wommon, / That marked was of molde”

(244–46). At the same time, the “other-worldliness” results from a literary *translatio*: Emaré becomes as the figures in her robe – exemplary in faith and virtue; and, even more importantly, the audience realizes that in Emaré they have perhaps a future iconographic and allegorical figure.

It is interesting to note that three of the four pictorial representations – *Sir Amadas*, *Floris and Blanchefleur*, and *The Sowdone of Babylone* – derive from stories that depict the tensions and strains between the pagan and Christian communities, and that therefore, in some measure, belong to the group known as homiletic romances, as *Emaré* does. Two of the stories, *The Sowdone of Babylone* and *Sir Amadas*, fall quite naturally within this group. The third, *Floris and Blanchefleur*, as we have seen throughout this study, lends itself to the exemplarity of the pious romances, but, we recall, not as readily in the Old French and Middle English as in the Old Norse and, especially, in the southern European versions of the tale. The question we are left with is if, to the audience of the Middle English romances, the lovers Floris and Blanchefleur enjoyed special authority simply as symbols of fidelity, or if their nature as almost hagiographic figures was recognized as well. It would seem that the presence of Tristan and Isolde, who are not religious figures, would indicate that perhaps Floris and Blanchefleur also appear in a secular context, but we remain with the fact that three of the four stories demonstrate a pagan / Christian conflict and that the robe itself was the gift of a pagan to a Christian, so the juxtaposition of pagan and Christian is clearly significant.

KEATS'S *THE EVE OF ST. AGNES*

This poem underscores the widespread and chronologically late influence of the legend of Floire and Blancheflor. *The Eve of St. Agnes* (1819), composed during one of Keats's most important creative years, owes its genesis in part to the legend of Floire and Blancheflor. Wilkins, in his history of Italian literature, mentions Keats's debt (103), which Robert Gittings disputes by pointing out that the collection of medieval French love stories that Keats says he was reading when he composed the poem was a trilogy containing another lyric poem that perhaps had more to do with the inspiration of Keats's poem than Floire and Blancheflor: *Flores et Blanchefleur*, *Cléomades et Claremonde*, and *Pierre de Provence et la Belle*

Epilogue

Maguelone, collected and written by M. de Tressan and published in Paris in 1777 in the ninth volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle des Dames: Romans*. As Gittings says, "Plot, setting and descriptive detail from all three combine to make them the undoubted source for the dramatic plan of Keats's poem" (89), although he believes that *Pierre et Maguelone* served as a more direct source.

Some of the actual details Keats deploys may derive from stories other than *Flores et Blanchefleur*, but many points, including the atmosphere of mingled Christian and pagan elements, stem from our legend. Three points are of interest here: the printed edition that served as Keats's source; the couching of the tale of the lovers within a Christian framework; and the immediacy and universality of Keats's poem.

Given that much of the present study seeks to restore Spain's literary contributions to a European tradition, it is worth noting the evolution of the story that finally saw publication by M. de Tressan. In the chapter on "Texts and origins," I referred to the first known printed edition of *Flores y Blancaflor* in Spain, the 1512 Alcalá de Henares. Although we no longer possess a witness of this edition, we do know that the title page read: "*Flores y Blancaflor. La historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor, rey y reyna de España y emperadores de Roma. Nuevamente imprimida en la noble Universidad de Alcala de Henares.*" This implies two important points. First of all, if it is "printed anew," then there may have been an even earlier Spanish version, although in general book printers liked to give the impression that their books were popular, and "printed anew" may be the result of that impulse (alternatively, "nuevamente imprimida" may simply mean printed for the first time). Secondly, if the King and Queen are also the Holy Roman Emperor and Empress, as they are in the sixteenth-century Spanish prose romance discussed throughout this study, then this printed edition represents a reworking of the legend that may have used Boccaccio as a source. In any case, it either employed an additional source unknown to us or represents some Spanish innovations in the tale, because *Il Filocolo* ends with the crowning of Florio in Córdoba, where, we are told, he reigned for many years as the King of that country. However, the material of Flores as Holy Roman Emperor appears first in Spain in the sixteenth-century prose romance.

The 1512 edition was translated into French by Jacques Vincent in 1554; it was reprinted many times in the sixteenth century (Foulché-

Delbosc 1, 49).¹ Brunet tells us: "C'est d'après cette traduction que M. de Tressan a rédigé l'extrait de ce roman qu'il a inséré dans la *Biblioth. des romans*, Févr. 1777 ..." (2, col. 1300). Certainly, if Keats had been reading a purely French story we might wonder why the hero is known as Flores in the title, when all the earlier French versions name him, logically, Floire. The answer is that Keats's source – M. de Tressan's translation – derives ultimately from Spain.

A second point of interest is the framing of Keats's poem within a hagiographic and folkloric context. We know that the feast of Saint Agnes occurs in January, around the time that Keats began to compose his poem. That it is a kind of somnambulatory Valentine's Day for young women couches the holyday in secular terminology, much as the June feastday of Saint John the Baptist resembles Valentine's Day in Mediterranean countries. Isabelle Jones suggested to Keats that he write about the legend of Saint Agnes; that he chose to use her feastday as a frame for Floire and Blanche-flor's reunion, with all its medieval trappings and religious detail, should come as no surprise. The evolutionary tendency of the legend of the lovers, as we have seen throughout this study, is toward increased religiosity. My point is that for a poet whose recent readings centered on medieval topics (many works in addition to the three by M. de Tressan: Gittings 88), the choice of *Flores et Blanche-fleur*, as a love story which through the centuries has shown its affinity for hagiography, is one of the most natural possible, much more so than *Tristan*, say, or *Lancelot*.

Keats combines religious detail with the lovers' passion, so that *The Eve of St. Agnes* resounds with immediacy and universality, much as *Flores y Blancaflor* does, and more so than Boccaccio's *Il Filocolo*, which is much more stylized and literary than either the Spanish Chronicle or the prose romance.

THE LEGEND OF FLORES AND BLANCAFLOR IN JUDEO-
SPANISH BALLADS

La reina xerifa mora, la que mora en Almería,
dize que tiene desseo de una quistiana cativa.

¹ According to Brunet, the 1512 Alcalá is the same as the 1604 version. Even though we do not know of an extant 1512, we do have a copy of the 1604 in the library of the Sorbonne. Hausknecht (50–70) in 1885 compared a later edition of Jacques Vincent's 1554 translation with the 1604 version and found that they were the same. See Chapter One, "Texts and Origins," for a more extensive discussion of these texts.

Epilogue

Los moros, como esso oyeran, de repente se partían;
de ellos parten para Francia, de ellos quedan en Almería.
Y encuentran al conde Flor que a la condessa traía;
pluma de oro en su mano, ido iba a la cortesía;
pidiendo iba a Dios del cielo que le diera hijo u hija,
para heredarle sus bienes, que heredero no tenía.
Ya matan al conde Flor, y a la condessa traían.
– Tomís, señora, esta esclava, la esclava que vos queríais,
que no es mora ni judía, ni es hecha a la malicia,
sólo condessa y marquesa, señora de gran valía.
La reina estaba preñada, la esclava también ansina.
La reina pariera un niño, la esclava una niña pariera.
Con lágrimas de sus ojos la cara lavó a la niña.
– Hija mía y de mi alma, [hemistich missing]
¡quién te me diera en mi tierra, y en la tierra de Almería!
Te nombrara Blancaflor, nombre de una hermana mía;
la cativaron los moros día de Pascua florida.
– Tu hermana Blancaflor, ¿en qué la conocerás?
– Baxo de su pecho izquierdo un lunar negro tenía.
Y de allí se conocieron las dos hermanas queridas.

(The Moorish Queen, Jarifa, who lives in Almería, says that she wishes to have a female Christian captive. The Moors, on hearing this, immediately set out; some head towards France, some stay in Almería. And they find Count Flor who had his countess with him; a gold pen in his hand, he was making a journey of courtesy [he cut a courtly figure?];² asking God in heaven to give him a son or daughter, to inherit his fortune, for heir had he none. They kill Count Flor, and carry off the Countess. “Here, madam, this slave, the slave that you wanted, she is neither Moor nor Jew, nor is evil-minded, but a countess and marquise, a lady of great value.” The Queen was pregnant, the slave was also pregnant. The Queen gave birth to a boy, the slave gave birth to a girl. With the tears from her eyes she washed the girl’s face. “My daughter and my love, [hemistich missing] Who sent you to me in my land and in Almería! I’ll name you Blancaflor, the name of one of my sisters; the Moors captured her on Easter Sunday.” “Your sister, Blancaflor, how would you recognize her?” “Beneath her left breast she has a black mole.” And that is how the two beloved sisters recognized each other).

The Hispanic ballad tradition constitutes one of the largest and richest bodies of folk poetry in existence, originating in medieval

² Bénichou explains that the line “ido iba a la cortesía” is incomprehensible (220).

Spain. Hundreds of popular ballads can be found today, often remarkably well preserved, in all Spanish and Portuguese-speaking countries and in all areas of Europe, Africa, Asia, and North and South America where Sephardic Jewish communities exist.

The Judeo-Spanish, or Sephardic, communities play an indispensable role in ballad scholarship. When Queen Isabella of Spain signed the edict that forced Jews dwelling in Castile and Aragon to choose between Christianity or exile from their homeland, thousands of Jews migrated to several continents. Sephardic communities today represent a living archive because they have preserved many ballads (*romansas*) in Ladino, the language of the fifteenth-century exiled Jews.

Hispanic ballads normally are categorized according to the text-type system developed at the Menéndez Pidal archive in Spain, and the folk motifs noted within each ballad follow Stith Thompson's *Index of Folk Motifs*. Collectors normally designate the ballads of the Sephardic communities as Eastern Mediterranean or Moroccan; the composition of the Eastern Mediterranean communities changes more radically than that of the North African (Moroccan) ones. Consequently, the ballad tradition in Morocco is more conservative, often more reflective of the ballads' probable original form in medieval Spain.

The above *romance* (Castilian for ballad) continues to circulate in many areas. This version, known variously as "The Moorish Queen Xerifa," "Count Flor," or "The Two Sisters, Queen and Captive" was published in Paul Bénichou's 1968 study of Judeo-Spanish ballads found in Morocco. It clearly derives from the medieval legend of *Floire and Blancheflor*. Other versions introduce other characters. In the variants in which the Queen gives birth to a girl and the captive to a boy, for example, two greedy midwives switch the babies at birth for monetary gain. When the deception is discovered and the sisters have recognized each other, some versions have the Moorish King suggesting a suitable noble Moor as husband for the captive sister, to which the Queen, recalling her Christian heritage, replies that God would not want to see two Christian women married to Moors. Normally, the reunited sisters then return to France.

Clearly, as Bénichou has explained, these contemporary ballads derive from the medieval legend of Floire and Blancheflor. What is of such interest, however, apart from the individual variants that are so fascinating in this example of balladry, is that the ballads tell the story

Epilogue

not of the lovers but of their mothers, the Christian captive and the Moorish Queen, who turns out herself to have been a Christian captive. In no version of *Floire and Blancheflor* are the two mothers actually sisters, but *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*, more than any other version, emphasizes the natural affinity these two women feel towards each other. They communicated with each other, we recall, in French and “algarabia,” but understood each other perfectly.

“The Two Sisters, Queen and Captive” is rarely found in South America, but there are several contemporary versions that circulate in Christian form in Northern Spain and in Sephardic form in southern Spain, northern Africa, New York, Los Angeles and Seattle.

In 1951, Manuel Alvar noticed in the ballads an increasing tendency towards de-christianization, and “The Two Sisters” offers an illustrative example. In Spain, the versions retain many Christian elements, including the prayers to God for an heir, the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, the capture of a Christian woman by the Moors, and the ending that announces the Queen’s return to her homeland and consequent renunciation of her marriage to the Moorish King.³ For both Queen and captive, to reside in this foreign land means to be unable to practice Christianity.

In the winter of 1922 and 1923, Maír José Benardete collected Sephardic ballads from the residents of the boroughs of New York City, where he was able to find both Eastern Mediterranean and Moroccan versions of many ballads; his 1929 Columbia University M.A. thesis was finally made available in 1981 by Samuel Armistead and Joseph Silverman. Benardete’s version, “The Two Sisters,” and five versions collected by Armistead and Silverman in Tangier in 1963 all show an interesting variation from the ballad collected by Bénichou: the religion of the captive woman.

Line 11a, above, “que no es mora ni judía” (she is neither a Moor nor a Jew), meaning that the captive woman is a Christian, becomes in Benardete “que ni es mora ni cristiana” (she is neither a Moor nor a Christian) (10b) and the same in Armistead and Silverman (11a). Thus some Sephardic ballads logically change the captive woman from a Christian to a Jew. The elements of pilgrimage are eliminated, and the yearning for the homeland becomes a culturally meaningful one that reflects the expelled Jews’ yearning for Spain.

Interestingly, in Rina Benmayor’s versions collected in Seattle and

³ For various Christian versions collected in northern Spain in the 1970s, see Petersen, *Voces nuevas del romancero castellano-leonés*.

Poetics of continuation

Los Angeles in the 1970s, all religious elements, Christian and Jewish, disappear, and the shortened ballad tells only of the babies switched by the wicked nurses and that one mother names her baby (in different versions) Amarqueta, Marqueta or Malquera after one of her sisters. The ballad abruptly ends and there is no embellishment (or even explanation) for what is taking place. Ballad collecting is a race against time, for the singers are dying off and the younger people are not maintaining the tradition. Benmayor's versions demonstrate quite clearly a tradition in decline. As we know, when people remember oral tales or songs and there is neither innovation to reflect new cultural conditions nor plots that make sense, the tradition is dying out. And in the case of the ballads in Seattle and Los Angeles, it is impossible to follow the plot of "The Two Sisters" if one does not know other, fuller versions.

A line appears in the Armistead/Silverman versions of "The Two Sisters" and in the one collected by Benardete that shows an interesting variation. In the 1963 versions, when the Jewish captive is given the keys to run the palace kitchen, she responds to the Queen: "Yo las tomaré, señora, por la gran desdicha mía" (I will take them [the keys], because of my great misfortune). But Benardete's version employs a technique called the "euphemistic third person," in which the singer changes the possessive pronoun out of superstition, even if it changes the rhyme scheme or the line makes no grammatical sense (it would have made sense to an audience accustomed to the technique). The 1922-23 version says: "Yo las tomaré, señora, por la gran desdicha suya" (because of her great misfortune). To reproduce first-person speech that contains bad news is to risk calling down upon oneself the same disasters. Consequently, many popular ballads avoid direct speech and get the idea across to the audience in a roundabout way.

Armistead compiled a catalogue of the Menéndez Pidal collection of Judeo-Spanish ballads in an attempt to explain, among other things, the importance of these ballads for Pan-European ballad research. He found congeners of "Hermanas reina y cautiva" in Child's collection of English and Scottish popular ballads (*Fair Annie*, n 62) and Grundtvig's *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser* (*Skjøn Anna*, n. 258) (266).⁴

Much remains to be done on balladry in general; in particular, the

⁴ For a discussion of Armistead's hopes for the usefulness of the catalogue, as well as some preliminary findings on the relationship between Pan-Hispanic balladry and Pan-European

Epilogue

entire corpus of "The Two Sisters" needs to be evaluated in light of the Spanish *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*. Of interest for future study are the following topics: the naming of Almería as the home of the Moorish Queen; the switching of the babies; the bride-substitution motif (a contamination of the legend with *Berte aus grans pies*, whose nurse substituted her own daughter in place of Berte in the newly-married Berte's bed?); and the theme of the two sisters in fairytales and in folklore other than ballads.

FLORES Y BLANCAFLOR AND COURTSHIP FOLKTALES IN CONTEMPORARY SPAIN

If the Hispanic ballads of the Christian captive and the Moorish queen, found to this day in various countries, shift the focus of the legend from the pagan and Christian lovers to their mothers, contemporary oral culture in parts of Spain appears to have preserved the role of the lovers in folktales, while changing some of the circumstances of the story to fit modern life.

Vestiges of the love story continue to this day in some villages of Cáceres, specifically Cabezuela, Serradilla and El Guijo de Santa Bárbara, in which the story known as "Blancaflor" illuminates differing male and female views of courtship and marriage.⁵

Taggart's findings on gender relations in Spanish folktales as expressive of courtship patterns in contemporary small-town life in Spain cite over and over the story of one Blancaflor, whose suitor

makes a long journey to find the heroine, much as a young man must travel a long road to maturity before he is ready for courtship and marriage . . . The story ends happily, testifying to the faith in the conjugal bond and the power of a woman's love in Cáceres Spanish culture . . . (165).

Men and women address all of these discordant themes [such as gender division of labor and sexual anxieties] and the mediation of fear in the grand narrative of "Blancaflor," a very popular tale in Cáceres and Spanish oral tradition. The story presents a model of how women and men can form an alliance in courtship and

balladry, see "The Menéndez Pidal Collection of Judeo-Spanish Ballads and Its Importance For Pan-European Ballad Research."

⁵ James M. Taggart's research was conducted in the region of Cáceres, but he cites the work of other folklorists in order to show that Blancaflor remains "one of the most popular folktales in Spanish oral tradition, and folklorists have collected versions from many provinces in Spain" (165).

Poetics of continuation

marriage. Storytellers of both genders tell the tale to affirm their belief that they can transcend many of the contradictory and discordant themes in gender relations by accepting their differences and having faith in the power of a woman's love. (15–16)

That is certainly one of the themes of the medieval *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor*: the children fall in love in spite of their seeming social inequality and the difference in their religious and racial background. Flores converts to Christianity in the medieval version (the Chronicle and the *Filocolo*) at Blancaflor's instigation and inspiration, which she conveys in a manner that guides the hero, as the "Blancaflors" of these folktales do, rather than providing an ultimatum. The sixteenth-century prose romance, *Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor*, however, does carry a threat with it: when Blancaflor is reunited with her beloved in the tower, she staves him off as he rushes to her arms, murmuring delicately that God would not approve of such a relationship between pagan and Christian. Flores unhesitatingly agrees to convert later, rather giving the impression of a man in a hurry who would have agreed to anything at that point. With the promise made, Blancaflor agrees to consummate their relationship. Taggart's fascinating anthropological study does not concern itself with provenance, but with current popularity, and "Blancaflor" appears to be one of the most popular oral courtship tales. I am convinced that this contemporary folktale, although somewhat contaminated by other romances such as *Melusina*, is none other than our medieval *Flores y Blancaflor* – not the Floire and Blancheflor of the aristocratic French romance, but the Floire and Blancheflor found in the Spanish Chronicle – concerned with advice and tasks, conversion, marriage and family, and the role of parents in their children's unions: in sum, more overtly and realistically concerned with human relationships than its aristocratic French counterpart, or even the sixteenth-century Spanish prose romance.

A full study of the medieval stories and their evolution and reminiscences in contemporary folklore would undoubtedly result in some intriguing findings. Taggart mentions one feature, the first task assigned the hero by the heroine's father, and says that this feature appears in all the variants, even though the other tasks may vary from version to version: the killing of the heroine. The father, who is the devil, insists that the hero may marry one of his other daughters only after killing the third, who would be chosen by drawing lots. The hero draws the name of the one he would have liked to marry; she

Epilogue

insists that he kill her by chopping her up into little pieces, being careful not to spill any blood. There is much emphasis on the girl's blood and the bloodiness of the task. The hero dismembers her, and throws her into the sea. When he plays the instrument that she had instructed him to play, she emerges whole and unscathed from the sea, except for one finger shorter than the others, a result of the hero's having spilled one drop of her blood while chopping her up.

Taggart explains this as

the theme of a woman's first sexual experience as a violent act ... Ursula [Blancaflor], however, represents a maiden at a more mature stage of development and she encourages the hero to go ahead and take her virginity despite his reluctance and fear. ... She is like any woman who is physically changed after losing her virginity. Ursula undergoes death and rebirth, much as in Cáceres women are believed to undergo a major transition when they have sex for the first time with a man. (181-82)

When Blancaflor is banished from the Spanish court, it is under the ruse of a false death planned by Flores's parents. While the recovery of the Chronicle's Blancaflor from her ordeal of slavery is not as spectacular as Blancaflor's return in the oral tradition, reconstituting herself as she does after being chopped up, the medieval story nonetheless retains very similar elements: the false death of the beloved, the hero's task of bringing her back, and the relevance of the sea. Neither Ursula nor Blancheflor is really dead, but their hiding or lack of appearance has something to do with the sea. Now, many stories overlap and employ many stock plot devices, but I think it highly significant that no medieval nor later version of *Floire and Blancheflor* does without the hero's temporary loss of the heroine through the device of the false death, as we see in the oral tradition of contemporary Cáceres. Moreover, as we see in both the medieval tradition and the contemporary folktale, the episode of the false death, or the discovery that this is but a false death, resolves little, since the hero and heroine must endure more trials and tribulations before finally being united.

Taggart makes note of one seemingly curious feature: the Blancaflor of some versions, in spite of her demonic parents, is described as a saint, and in many versions, she has supernatural powers. This is perhaps one further holdover of the hagiographic potential, inherent in the love story, that is brought to fruition in the medieval Mediter-

Poetics of continuation

anean versions. As we know, *Floire and Blancheflor* is linked to pilgrimage material related to the shrine of Saint James of Compostela. In the twelfth century, religious-military orders were founded in order to unite the Christians – spiritually, militarily, socially, economically and politically – against the Muslim occupants of Spain. The oldest order, the Order of Santiago, had its origins – rather humble beginnings – in the town of Cáceres in 1170, as MacKay explains (15–35, especially 31–35). It makes an interesting coincidence that Taggart’s Cáceres versions of “Blancaflor” mix religious and secular materials, with Blancaflor emerging at times as a saint; one wonders if there is more at work here than coincidence, in that the stronghold of the Order of Santiago is a place where the contemporary oral version of *Flores y Blancaflor* maintains the element of sanctity and the supernatural, as found in the Chronicle, which so emphasized Santiago de Compostela and the issue of pilgrimage. Taggart prints only two of the versions that he collected; the two and the other variants would have to be compared to versions of other provinces in Spain in order to determine if the sainthood of Blancaflor is unique to the Cáceres region.

Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor transforms a love story into a model for the Christian family and community. Taggart’s study shows how the legend reintegrates the family and redefines family relationships in contemporary folklore. “Blancaflor” or *Flores y Blancaflor* continues to demonstrate its enduring power to engage readers and listeners because this protean story never loses sight of the spiritual and social needs that it addresses, from its earliest times, as evidenced by the Spanish Chronicle, to its present-day role as contemporary model for marriage.

Appendix A

Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor: historical period of the fictional reign of King Fines and King Flores

Roderic, the last Visigothic King of Spain (710–711)

Flores y Blancaflor is interpolated between chapters 564 and 783 of *Primera crónica general*. Those chapters cover the following years and mention the following historical Arab governors and Umayyad Emirs.

Arab Governors of Spain:

'Abd al-Malik ibn Kattan – (in revolt) 739–Sept/Oct 741

Balj ibn Bashir – Sept/Oct 741–Sept 742

Tha'labah bin Sallamah al-Amali – Sept 742–May 743

Abu al-Khattar Husam ibn Dhirar al-Khalbi – May 743–April 745

Thuabab ibn Yezid – April 745–746/7

Yusuf ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Fihri – Dec 746/7–May 756

Umayyad Emirs of Córdoba:

'Abd al-Rahman I – 756–88

Hisham I – 788–96

Al-Hakem I – 796–822

The following Christian rulers are mentioned in Chapters 564 to 783 of *PCG*.

Kings of the Asturias:

Pelayo (Pelagius) – 718/722(?)–737

Favila – 737–739

Alfonso I, 'the Catholic' – 739–757

Fruela I, 'the Cruel' – 757–768 (Collins, *Early Medieval Spain*, 300–01)

The reign of King Fines and King Flores

The following Carolingian rulers are mentioned in the two tales that follow *Flores y Blancaflor* in *Primera crónica general*, *Berta* and *Mainete*:

Pepin the Short (husband of Berta, purported daughter of Flores and Blancaflor, according to the Spanish Chronicle and the aristocratic French poem) – 754–68

Charlemagne (purported to be grandson of Flores and Blancaflor, according to the Spanish Chronicle and the aristocratic French poem) – b.768–d.814; Holy Roman Emperor – 800–14

Appendix B

Table of important characters and place-names in major European versions of *Floire and Blancheflor*

	<i>Middle Dutch</i> (c. 1255) <i>Mak/</i> <i>Leendertz (eds.)</i>	<i>Spanish Chronicle</i> (c. 1295)	<i>Spanish Prose</i> <i>Romance (c. 1530s)</i>	<i>Il Filocolo (c. 1330s)</i>	<i>Low Rhenish</i> <i>Trier-fragments</i> (end of 12th c.)
<i>Pagan King</i>	Fenus coninc uut Spaengen	Fines	Felice rey de España	Felix realm of Hesperia (Spain)	
<i>Pagan Queen</i>		reina	reina	the queen	
<i>Blancheflor's</i> <i>origins</i>	Fransoys dochter	duque su padre Berta from France	Miçer Percio Topacia from Rome (married)	Quintus Lelius Giulia Topacia from Rome (married)	
<i>Floire and</i> <i>Blancheflor</i>	Florijs Blancefloer	Flores Blancaflor	Flores Blancaflor	Florio Biancifiore	Floyres Floyris Blantseflur
<i>Teachers/Masters</i>	Gaydoen	Gaydon Gandifer	Mahomat Abdalí	Racheio Ascalion	

<i>“Montoro”</i>	Montoriën Sibilie Goras	Montor dona Sevilla, sister of Fines duque Joyas	Duque de Montorio primo del rey	Montoro Duke Ferramonte	
<i>Helpers in “Babylon”</i>	Daries	Daytes Licores	Dario Lobrondo	Dario the Alexandrian	Daries
<i>Blancheflor’s captor</i>	dammirael Babyloniën	Rey de Babilonia	Almiral de Caire (Babilonia)	Admiral of the King of Babylon/in Alexandria	dammiral babilonien conic
<i>Blancheflor’s female friend</i>	Clarijs, Claris	Gloris	Glorisia	Glorizia	Cloris
<i>“Court” figures</i>	Alfages Gaifier	Alfanges, almiral de Oliferna Gradifer, almiral de Nubia Tençer, almiral de Etiopia		Iruscomos Flagrereo (guards of the jail)	
<i>Children and descendants</i>	Baerte (daughter) Kaerle van Vrankerike (grandson)	Berta Carlos (Charlemagne) (grandson)	Gordión	Lelio	

	<i>Middle High German Fleck (c. 1230) E. Sommer (ed.)</i>	<i>Old Norse (c. 1300) Snorasson (ed.)</i>	<i>Icelandic (15th c. Ms. of 13th c. version) Kolbing (ed.)</i>	<i>Danish (last quarter of 15th c.) Brandt (ed.)</i>	<i>Greek Prose Romance (15th c.) Wagner (ed.) (notes on side and text)</i>
<i>Pagan King</i>	Fênix/Küneges/ Hispanje	Felix-Konungr-Aples	Felix-Konungr-Aples	Konningen Fenix aff Aples	Philip/Spain
<i>Pagan Queen</i>					Kalliotera
<i>Blancheflor's origins</i>	Kristenfrouwe	Fader/Datteren	Riddari fraegr ok Kurteiss; fadir	fadher/dotter ridder aff Franckerigy	“a noble knight” Topatzia (married)
<i>Floire and Blancheflor</i>	<i>Flore Blanscheflûr</i>	Flóres Blankiflúr	Flóres Blankiflúr	Flores Blanseflor/ Blantzeflor/ Blandzeflor	Florios Platziaflora
<i>Teachers/ Masters</i>	Welhin	Girildon Geides	Vísdon Góridas		his uncle, the duke
<i>“Montoro”</i>	Montôre Sybillen Guraze	Mustorie Sybilja Ligoras	Mintorie Sibila Goneas	Mantorie Sibillae	Monturion his uncle, the duke
<i>Helpers in “Babylon”</i>	Daries	Daíres-Lídernis	Daires-Lidernis	Daries	

<i>Blancheflor's captor</i>	amiral/Babilonje	Kongen of Babilon	Konungr/Babilón	Konningh aff Babilone	Emir of Babylon
<i>Blancheflor's female friend</i>	Claris	Eloris	Elóris	Klares/Klara	
<i>"Court" figures</i>	Galfier Nubya	Marsilías	Marsilías Práten	Marsilas/Marsilyass/ Marsilias Capton Twrpin	
<i>Children and descendants</i>	Berhte Karlen (grandson)				

	<i>Cantare di Fiorio e Biancofiore</i> (mid–late 15th c.)	<i>Middle English</i> (c. 1250; MSS. date from 13th–late 14th c.)	<i>OF aristocratic</i> (mid-12th c.; MS. dates from late 13th c.) <i>Leclanche (ed.)</i>	<i>OF popular</i> (late 12th c.) <i>Pelan (ed.)</i>	<i>OF</i> (Vatican fragment a.k.a. <i>Palatine Lat.</i> 1971) (MS. dates from 13th c.)
<i>Pagan King</i>	Felice/Spagnia	Kingdom in Spain identified in F’s account to Dario of his origins	Felis “Uns rois estoit issus d’espaigne”/ Naples	“Espagne”; “riche roi”, “reaume d’Aumarie”	li reis
<i>Pagan Queen</i>	Majore	the Queene	“la roïne”	la roïne	la reine
<i>Blancheflor’s origins</i>	Topatia Cavaleiro de Roma (married)	“Cristen woman”	“un francois et pren et courtoise”; “sa fille”	Henri d’Olenois; la duchoise (married)	fragment lacks opening episode mother – la chrestiene
<i>Floire and Blancheflor</i>	Fiorio Bianchofiore	Floris/Florice/Florys Blancheflour	Flore/Floire/Flores Blanceflor/ Blanceflour	Flore/Floire/Floires Blancheflor	Floire/Floires Blancheffur
<i>Teachers/ Masters</i>			Gaidon Gaides	le maistre Maydien	Gaisdun gandes
“ <i>Montoro</i> ”	Montorio “La duca . . . de nostro parentorio”	Mountargis “suster” not named Duke Orgas	Montoire Sebile li dus Joras	Montelien	Muntorie Li dux goras dame Sibile

<i>Helpers in "Babylon"</i>	Dario	Daris/Dares/Darie	Daires-Licoris		
<i>Blancheflor's captor</i>	Babillonia ammirallia	Amyral of Babyloyn/Babillone	amiraus/amirail de Babiloine	Amiraus/Babiloine	amirall de Babilonie
<i>Blancheflor's female friend</i>		Claris Clarice Clariz Clarys	Gloris	Claris	
<i>"Court" figures</i>		"barons" "King of Nubie"	"ses barons" "roi de Nubie"		
<i>Children and descendants</i>			Berte Charlemaine		

Bibliography

The bibliography aims to be as comprehensive as possible for *Floire and Blancheflor* in all its versions, and includes secondary works which, while not specifically cited in this book, serve to orient readers toward approaches to the study of medieval literature and the medieval romance in particular.

PRIMARY SOURCES: FLOIRE AND BLANCHEFLOR

I. Manuscripts

English

- Cambridge. University Library. Gg 4.27.2 folios 1a–5b. Fragment. 824 lines. c. 1300.
Edinburgh. National Library of Scotland. Advocates 19.2.1. (*olim* Auchinleck). folios 100a–104b. Fragment. 861 lines. c. 1330.
London. British Library. Egerton 2862. (*olim* Trentham–Sutherland). folios 98a–111a. Fragment. 1083 lines. c. 1400.
London. British Library. Cotton Vitellius D.3. folios 6a–8b. Fragment. 451 lines; only approx. 180 lines legible. (Damaged in the fire of 1731.) before 1300.

French

1. “Aristocratic” version

- Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. fonds français 375. (*olim* 6987). folios 247v–254r. 3342 lines. 1288.
Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. fonds français 1447. folios 1r – 20v. 3039 lines. 1300–50.
Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. fonds français 12562. folios 69r–89v. approx. 3342 lines. 1375–1425.
Rome. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Palatinus Latinus 1971. folios 85ra–90vb. Fragment. 1156 lines. c. 1200–25.

2. “Popular” version

- Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. fonds français 19152. folios 193r–205v. 3470 lines. Incomplete. 13th c.

Bibliography

German (Low Rhenish)

Trier. Stadtbibliothek. Mittelhochdeutsche Fragmente. Mappe X.13. 4 folios. 368 lines. End of the 12th c. Also contains fragments of *Agidius* and *Silvester*.

Spanish

Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional, 7583 (*olim* T-233). Alfonso X. *Estoria de España; Primera crónica general*. 207 ff., 2 cols., 250 x 170 mm., first section is the *Crónica fragmentaria*. Castilian. 13th–14th c.

II. Early printed editions

Spanish

Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor. Seville: Juan Cromberger, [c. 1532]. London, British Library G.10203.

Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor. Seville: Juan Cromberger, [c. 1532]. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Université. R XVI 879. See Secondary Sources, Beaulieux, below.

Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor. Burgos: Phelippe de Junta, 1562. New York, Hispanic Society of America; BN Madrid. R. 31364 N41.

Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor. Juan Gracián: Alcalá de Henares, 1604. Paris, Bibliothèque de la Réserve. Res Y2 823.

III. Modern editions

Danish

Brandt, Carl Joakim, ed. *Flores og Blanseflor*. Copenhagen: Michaelsen & Tilbe, 1861. Rpt. in *Ældre Danske Digtere*, 1. Copenhagen: Michaelsen & Tillges, 1862. 1–88. Rpt. in *Romantisk Digtning fra Middelalderen*, I. Copenhagen: Thieles, 1869–70. 285–373; rpt. 1877.

Dutch

Leendertz, P. Jr., ed. *Floris ende Blanceflor door Diederic van Assenede*. Leiden: Sijthoff, 1912 (Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde).

Mak, Jacobus Johannes, ed. *Diederic van Assenede: Floris ende Blancefloer*. Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1960. 2nd edn. 1964. 3rd edn. Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink/Noorduijn, 1974 (Klassieken uit de Nederlandse Letterkunde).

English

Hausknecht, Emil, ed. *Floris und Blauncheflur*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1885 (Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben, 5).

Bibliography

- Lumby, J. Rawson, ed. *King Horn, Floriz and Blaunchefflor, The Assumption of our Lady* (Early English Text Society, OS, 14). London: EETS, 1866. 2nd edn. rev. by George H. McKnight, 1901. xxx-xliv, 71-110, 146-47; rpt. 1962.
- Sands, Donald B., ed. *Middle English Verse Romances*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966. 279-309.
- Taylor, Albert Booth, ed. *Floris and Blaunchefflor*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

French

1. "Aristocratic" version

- Bekker, Immanuel, ed. *Flore und Blanceflor, altfranzösischer Roman*. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1844.
- Du Méril, Edélestand, ed. *Floire et Blanceflor, poème du XIIIe siècle*. Paris: P. Jannet, 1856 (Bibliothèque Elzevirienne). Rpt. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1970.
- Krüger, Felicitas, ed. *Le Romanz de Floire et Blanceflor*. Berlin: Ebering, 1938 (Romanische Studien, 45). Rpt. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1967.
- Leclanche, Jean-Luc, ed. *Le Conte de Floire et Blanceflor*. Paris: Champion, 1980 (Classiques Français du Moyen Age, 105).
- Pelan, Margaret M., ed. *Floire et Blanceflor*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1937. 2nd edn., 1956 (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Textes d'Etudes, 7).
- Wirtz, Wilhelmine, ed. *Flore et Blanceflor*. Frankfurt: Diesterweg, 1937 (Frankfurter Quellen und Forschungen, 15). Rpt. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1974. Contains transcription of Palatine lat. 1971.

2. "Popular" version

- Du Méril, Edélestand. See III. Modern editions, above.
- Krüger, Felicitas, ed. See III. Modern editions, above.
- Leclanche, Jean-Luc, ed. See III. Modern editions, above.
- Pelan, Margaret M., ed. *'Floire et Blanceflor' (seconde version)*. Paris: Ophrys, 1975.

German

1. Low German

- Waetzoldt, Stephan, ed. *Flos unde Blankeflos*. Bremen: J. Kührtmann, 1880 (Niederdeutsche Denkmäler, 3).

2. Low Rhenish

- Smet, Gilbert de, and Mawrits Gysseling, eds. "Die Trierer Floyris-Bruchstücke." *Studia Germanica Gandensia* 9 (1967): 157-96. Rpt. from *Festgabe für Wolfgang Jungandreas*. Trier: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Landesgeschichte und Volkskunde des Trierer Raumes, 1964. 170-83.
- Steinmeyer, Elias, ed. "Trierer Bruchstücke. I. Floyris." *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum und deutsche Litteratur* 21 (1877): 307-31.

3. Middle High German (Konrad Fleck)

- Sommer, Emil, ed. *Flore und Blanschefflor, eine Erzählung von Konrad Fleck*.

Bibliography

Quedlinburg: Gottfried Basse, 1846 (Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur von der ältesten bis auf die neuere Zeit, 12).

Greek

- Bekker, Immanuel, ed. *Florios und Platziaflores*. Berlin: 1845 (Abhandlungen der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften). 125–80.
- Hesseling, D. C., ed. *Le Roman de Phlorios et Platzia Phlore*. Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1917 (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde, NS 17, No. 4).
- Wagner, Wilhelm, ed. *Florios und Platziaflores*. In *Medieval Greek Texts*, I. London: Philological Society, 1870. Rpt. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1971. 1–56.

Italian

1. *Cantare*

- Crescini, Vincenzo, ed. *Il cantare di Fiorio e Bianciflore, edito e illustrato*. 2 vols. Bologna: Romagnoli-Dall'Acqua, 1889–99. Rpt. Bologna: Editrice Forni, 1967; Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1969 (Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare dal secolo XIII al XVII, 233, 249).
- Crocioni, Giovanni, ed. *Il cantare di Fiorio e Biancofiore*. Rome: Società Filologica Romana, 1903 (Miscellanea di letteratura del Medio Evo, 2).
- Hausknecht, Emil, ed. "Das Cantare di Fiorio e Bianciflore." *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*: 71 (1884) 1–48.

2. Boccaccio

- Battaglia, Salvatore, ed. *Giovanni Boccaccio. Il Filocolo*. Bari: Gius Laterza, 1938 (Scrittori d'Italia, 167).
- Quaglio, Antonio Enzo, ed. *Il Filocolo*. In *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*. Vittore Branca, ed. Verona: Mondadori, 1967. I.47–675, 706–970.

Old Norse/Icelandic

- Kölbing, Eugen, ed. *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1896 (Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek, 5).
- Snorrason, Brynjolf, ed. and trans. "Saga af Flóres ok Blankiflúr, Grundtexten med Oversættelse." *Annaler for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1 (1850). 3–121, 362–63.

Spanish

- Bonilla y San Martín, Adolfo, ed. *La historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor*. Madrid: Ruiz Hermanos, 1916.
- Gómez Pérez, José, ed. *Flores y Blancaflor*. In "Leyendas medievales españolas del ciclo carolingio." *Anuario de Filología* (Maracaibo) 2–3 (1963–64): 7–136. (*Flores y Blancaflor*, 35–94.)

Bibliography

Swedish

Klemming, Gustav Edvard, ed. *Flores och Blanzefflor. En Karlekskikt fran medeltiden*. Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt, 1844 (Samlingar utgivna af svenska fornskrifts sällskapet, 1).

IV. Modernizations and translations

Danish

Brandt, Carl Joskim, ed. and trans. *Flores og Blansefflor*. Copenhagen: Michaelsen & Tilbe, 1861 (Ældre Danske Digtere, 3), 5–87.

French

1. "Aristocratic" Version

Hannedouche, Suzanne, ed. and trans. *Floire et Blanchefflor*. Narbonne: Editions des Cahiers d'études cathares, 1971.

Hubert, Merton Jérôme, ed. and trans. *The Romance of Floire and Blanchefleur: A French Idyllic Poem of the Twelfth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966 (University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 63).

Marchand, Jean, ed. and trans. *La Légende de Flore et Blanchefleur, poème du XIIIe siècle*. Paris: Piazza, 1930.

Williams, Harry F. and Mireille Guillet-Rydell, ed. and trans. *Floire et Blanchefleur*. University, Miss.: Romance Monographs, 1973.

Italian

Boccaccio, Giovanni. *Il Filocolo*. Trans. Donald Cheney with the collaboration of Thomas G. Bergin. New York: Garland, 1985.

Spanish

Tressan, Louis Elisabeth de la Vergne, de Broussin, Comte de, ed. and trans. "Flores et Blanche-Fleur." Bibliothèque Universelle des Romans, février 1777, pp.151–225. Rpt. in *Corps d'extraits de romans de chevalerie*, Paris: Pissot, 1782, vol. 1, pp. 218–92; rpt. in *Bibliothèque universelle des dames. Romans*, 9 (1786), 1–117; rpt. in *Œuvres choisies du comte de Tressan*, C.T. Garnier, ed. Paris: [Rue et Hotel Serpente], 1787–91, vol. 7, pp. 207–70; rpt. Evreux: J. J. L. Ancelle, 1796; rpt. in *Œuvres complètes du comte de Tressan*, M. Campenon, ed., Paris: Nepveu, 1822–23, vol. 3, pp. [199]–254; rpt. in Bibliothèque Bleue, 1 (1859), 1–117.

Vincent, Jacques, trans. *L'Histoire amoureuse de Floris et Blanchefleur s'amyé*. Le tout mis d'Espagnol en Français. Paris: Michel Fezandat, 1554. Rpt. Antwerp:

Bibliography

Jean Waesberghe, 1561; Lyon: B. Rigaud, 1570; Rouen: R. du Petit Val, 1594; 2nd edn., 1597; rpt. 1606.

V. Related works

- Beatrice del Sera, Sister. *Amor di Virtù: Commedia in cinque atti: 1548*. Ed. Elissa Weaver. Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1990.
- García de Salazar, Lope. *Libro de las bienandanzas e fortunas*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia. MS 9-10-2/2100.
- Las bienandanzas e fortunas: códice del siglo XV*. Ed. Angel Rodríguez Herrero. Bilbao, 1967. Vol. 2, 153-54. (Short summary of *Flores y Blancaflor*.)
- La gran conquista de Ultramar*. Ed. Louis Cooper. Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 51. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1979. Vol. 2, 561.
- La leggenda della Reina Rosana e di Rosana sua Figliuola*. Ed. Alessandro d'Ancona. Livorno: Francesco Vigo, 1871.
- Rímur af 'Flores og Blanzeflur'*. Ed. Niels Jonsson. Kostnardarmann: Grimur Laxdal og Jon Jonsson, 1858.
- The Tale of Queen Rosana and of Rosana Her Daughter and of the King's Son Aulimento*. Ed. and trans. Mildred Mary Blance Mansfield. London: n.p., 1909.
- Sigurdar saga pögla*. In *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances II*. Ed. Agnete Loth. 5 vols. Editiones Arnarnaganae, Series B, vols. 20-24. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1962-65. 21: (1963) 93-259.

Other primary sources

- Boccaccio, Giovanni. *Diana's Hunt: Caccia di Diana*. Ed. and trans. Anthony K. Cassell and Victoria Kirkham. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta*. Ed. Maria Pia Mussini Sacchi. Milan: Mursia, 1987.
- The Life of Dante*. In *The Earliest Lives of Dante: Translated From the Italian of Giovanni Boccaccio and Lionardo Bruni Aretino*. Trans. James Robinson Smith. Yale Studies in English, 10. New York: Russell and Russell, 1901. Rpt. 1968. 7-78.
- Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*. Ed. Svend Grundtvig et al. 12 vols. Copenhagen: Universitets-Jubilaets Danske Samfund, 1966-76.
- Emaré*. Ed. Maldwyn Mills. In *Six Middle English Romances*. London: Dent, 1973.
- The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Ed. F. J. Child. 5 vols. 1882-89. Rpt. New York: Dover, 1965.
- Five Middle English Narratives*. Ed. Robert D. Stevick. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [1976].
- Gran crónica de Alfonso XI*. Fuentes cronísticas de la historia de España, vol. 4. Ed. Diego Catalán. Madrid: CSMP and Gredos, 1977.
- Judeo-Spanish Ballads From New York: Collected by Maír José Benardete*. Ed. Samuel G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Primera crónica general: Estoria de España que mando componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*. Ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: Bailly-Baillière e Hijos, 1906. 2nd. edn. 1955.

Bibliography

- The Romance of Emaré*. Ed. Edith Rickert (EETS, ES, 99). London: EETS, 1906. Rpt. 1958.
- Romancero judeo-español de Marruecos*. Ed. Paul Bénichou. Madrid: Castalia, 1968.
- Romances judeo-españoles de Oriente: nueva recolección*. Ed. Fuentes para el Estudio del Romancero, Serie Sefardí, 5. Madrid: CSMP and Gredos, 1979.
- Romancero popular de la montaña: colección de romances tradicionales*. Ed. José M. de Cossío and Tomás Maza Solano. Santander: Sociedad de Menéndez y Pelayo, [1934].
- Ruiz, Juan. *Libro de buen amor*. Ed. and trans. Raymond S. Willis. Princeton: University Press, 1972.
- The Song of Roland*. Trans. Dorothy L. Sayers. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1957.
- Voces nuevas del romancero castellano-leonés*. Ed. Suzanne J. Petersen et al. 2 vols. Madrid: Gredos, 1982.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Alvar, Manuel. "Los romances de *La bella en misa* y de *Virgilio* en Marruecos." *Archivum* (Oviedo) 4 (1954): 264-76.
- Ancona, Alessandro d'. *Origini del teatro italiano*. Rome: Bardi Editore, 1966.
- Arrathoon, Leigh A., ed. *The Craft of Fiction: Essays in Medieval Poetics*. Rochester, MI: Solaris Press, 1984.
- Armistead, Samuel G. *El romancero judeo-español en el Archivo Menéndez Pidal: catálogo- índice de romances y canciones*. Madrid: CSMP, 1978. Vol. 1.
- "The Menéndez Pidal Collection of Judeo-Spanish Ballads and its Importance For Pan-European Ballad Research." In *Ballads and Ballad Research: Selected Papers of the International Conference on Nordic and Anglo-American Ballad Research*. Ed. Patricia Conroy. Seattle: University of Washington, 1978. 205-09.
- Attwater, Donald. *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*. Revised and updated by Catherine Rachel John. New York: Penguin Books, 1983.
- Babbitt, Theodore. "Twelfth-Century Epic Forms in Fourteenth-Century Chronicles." *Romanic Review* 26 (1935): 128-36.
- Barnes, Geraldine. "Cunning and Ingenuity in the Middle English *Floris and Blauncheflur*." *Medium Aevum* 53 (1984): 10-25.
- "The *Riddarasögur* and Medieval European Literature." *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 8 (1975): 140-58.
- "The *Riddarasögur*: A Medieval Exercise in Translation." *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 19 (1977): 403-41.
- "Some Observations on *Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*." *Scandinavian Studies* 49 (1977): 48-66.
- Barron, W. R. J. *English Medieval Romance*. London: Longman, 1987.
- Bartsch, Karl. "Zum Floyris." *Germania* 26 (1881): 64-65.
- "Zur Kritik von *Flore und Blanscheflur*." In *Beiträge zur Quellenkunde der altendischen Literatur*. Strasbourg: Trübner, 1886. 60-86.
- Basset, René. "Les sources arabes de *Floire et Blanchefleur*." *Revue des Traditions Populaires* 22 (1907): 241-45.

Bibliography

- Batany, Jean. "'Home and Rome,'" A Device in Epic and Romance: *Le Couronnement de Louis* and *Ille et Galeron*." *Yale French Studies* 51 (1974): 42-60.
- Beaulieux, Charles. *Catalogue de la Réserve XVIIe siècle (1501-1540) de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1910. 166-67. Entry 879.
- Bloch, R. Howard. *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate. "Historiography and *Matière Antiqu*: The Emperor Henry VII as a New Alexander in the Fourteenth-Century *Voeux de l'épervier*." *Medievalia et Humanistica*, NS 14 (1986): 17-35.
- "The Poetics of Continuation in the Old French *Paon Cycle*." *Romance Philology* 39 (1985-86): 437-47.
- Boitani, Piero, ed. *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento*. Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Chaucer and Boccaccio*. Oxford University Press, 1977.
- English Medieval Narrative in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. Trans. Joan Krakover Hall. Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Bossuat, Robert. "Floire et Blancheflor et le chemin de Compostelle." *Bolletino del Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani* 6 (1962: *Saggi e ricerche in memoria di Ettore Le Gotti* I): 263-73.
- Boyer, Regis. "An Attempt to Define the Typology of Medieval Hagiography." *Hagiography and Medieval Literature: A Symposium*. Odense: University Press, 1981. 27-36.
- Brewer, Derek, ed. *Studies in Medieval English Romances: Some New Approaches*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1988.
- Brink, Bernhard Aegidius Konrad ten. *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur*. Strasbourg: Trübner, 1877. 2nd edn. rev. by Alois Brandl, 1899, 296-98.
- Early English Literature*. Trans. Horace M. Kennedy. New York: Holt, 1883. 236-37.
- Brink, Jan ten. *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*. Amsterdam: Elsevir, 1897. 113-18.
- Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Brownlee, Kevin, and Marina S. Brownlee, eds. *Romance: Generic Transformation from Chrétien de Troyes to Cervantes*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1985.
- Brownlee, Marina Scordilis. "Pagan and Christian: The Bivalent Hero of *El libro de Alexandre*." *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 30 (1983): 263-270.
- "Writing and Scripture in the *Libro de Apolonio*: The Conflation of Hagiography and Romance." *Hispanic Review* 51 (1983): 159-74.
- Bruckner, Matilda Tomaryn. "Repetition and Variation in Twelfth-Century French Romance." In *The Expansion and Transformations of Courtly Literature*. Ed. Nathaniel B. Smith and Joseph T. Snow. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980. 95-114.
- Brunet, J.-Ch. *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1861. Column 1300.

Bibliography

- Brunner, Hugo. *Über Aucassin et Nicolette*. Halle: n.p., 1880. Rpt. Kassel: n.p., 1881 (Programm-Realschule, 2), pp. 6–21.
- Brunner, Karl. "Middle English Metrical Romances and Their Audience." In *Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Albert C. Baugh*. Ed. Mac Edward Leach. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961. 220–21.
- Buckbee, Edward John. "Genteel Entertainment in Old French Romance Narrative: Registers of Learned Playfulness in *Floire et Blancheflor*." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1974. DAI 35–09A: 6131.
- Budge, Sir Wallis. *Egyptian Religion*. London: n.p., 1900. Rpt. New York: Citadel Press, 1991.
- Burgess, Glyn S. et al., eds. *Court and Poet: Selected Proceedings of the Third Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society (Liverpool 1980)*. Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1981.
- The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society (Toronto 1983)*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Cacciaglia, Mario. "Appunti sul problema delle fonti del romanzo di 'Floire et Blancheflor'." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 80 (1964): 241–55.
- Cacho Blecua, Juan Manuel. "'Nunca quiso mamar lech de mugier rafez': notas sobre lactancia, del *Libro de Alexandre* a don Juan Manuel." In *Actas del I Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*. Ed. Vicente Beltrán. Barcelona: PPU, 1988. 209–24.
- Calin, William C. "Flower Imagery in *Floire et Blancheflor*." *French Studies* 18 (1964): 103–11.
- Catalán, Diego. "Crónicas generales y cantares de gesta: el *Mío Cid* de Alfonso X y el del pseudo Ben-Alfaraḡ." *Hispanic Review* 31 (1963): 195–215 and 291–306.
- '*La Estoria de los Reyes del Señorío de Africa*.' *Romance Philology* 17 (1962–63): 346–53.
- La gran crónica de Alfonso XI*. Madrid: Gredos, 1966.
- "Poesía y novela en la historiografía castellana de los siglos XIII y XIV." In *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune, professeur à l'Université de Liège*, vol. 1. Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1969. 423–41.
- "El taller historiográfico alfonsí: métodos y problemas en el trabajo compilatorio." *Romania* 84 (1963): 354–75.
- Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá: índice para facilitar el manejo y consulta de los catálogos de Salvá y Heredia*. Ed. Gabriel Molina Navarro. Madrid: Molina, 1913.
- Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia, comte de Benahavis*. Paris: E. Paul, L. Huard et Guillemin, 1891–94.
- Catalogues des livres rares et précieux, manuscrits et imprimés de la bibliothèque de feu M. J. J. de Bure, ancien libraire du roi et de la Bibliothèque Royale*. Paris: L. Potier, 1853. 149–50.
- Cirot, Georges. "A propos de la nouvelle de l'Abencerrage." *Bulletin Hispanique* 31 (1929): 131–38.

Bibliography

- "Le 'Cautivo' de Cervantes et Notre-Dame de Liesse." *Bulletin Hispanique* 38 (1936): 378-82.
- "El celoso extremeño et l'histoire de Floire et de Blanceflor." *Bulletin Hispanique* 31 (1929): 138-43.
- "Encore les 'Maris jaloux' de Cervantes." *Bulletin Hispanique* 31 (1929): 339-46.
- "Gloses sur les 'Maris jaloux' de Cervantes." *Bulletin Hispanique* 31 (1929): 1-74.
- Clover, Carol J. *The Medieval Saga*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982.
- Coleman, Janet. *Medieval Readers and Writers 1350-1400*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.
- Collins, Roger. *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000* (New Studies in Medieval History). London: Macmillan, 1983.
- Colliot, R. *Adenet le Roi, "Berte aus grans pies": étude littéraire générale*. 2 vols. Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1970.
- Cooper, Helen. "Magic that Does Not Work." *Medievalia et Humanistica*, NS, 7 (1976): 131-46.
- Cormier, Raymond J. "Death by Stylus: A Note on the *Roman de Floire et Blanchefleur*." *Romania* 96 (1975): 403-05.
- Cottino-Jones, Marga. "Observations on the Structure of the *Decameron* Novella." *Romance Notes* 15 (1972-73): 378-87.
- Crescini, Vincenzo. "Filocolo o Filocopo." *Giornale d'Erudizione* 2 (1890): 41.
- "Flores y Blancaflor." *Giornale di Filologia Romanza* 4 (1883): 159-69.
- "Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore" e il *Filocolo*." In *Due studii riguardanti le opere minori del Boccaccio*. Padua: Crescini, 1882. 5-27.
- Crocioni, Giovanni. "La più antica redazione italiana del *Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore* nel codice Veliterno K. IV. 1." *La Favilla* 6 (1901): 52.
- "Quando penetrò in Italia la leggenda di Fiori e di Biancifiore?" *Bolletino della Società di Filologia Romanza in Roma*, NS 2 (1911): 79-80.
- Dannenbaum, Susan Crane. "*Guy of Warwick* and the Question of Exemplary Romance." *Genre* 17 (1984): 351-74.
- Davidoff, Judith. *Beginning Well: Framing Fictions in Late Middle English Poetry*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1988.
- Davis, Charles T. "Rome and Babylon in Dante." In Ramsey, ed., *Rome and the Renaissance*. 19-24.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*. Stanford University Press, 1987.
- Dean, Ruth J. "The Fair Field of Anglo-Norman: Recent Cultivation." *Medievalia et Humanistica*, NS, 3 (1972): 279-97.
- Delboulle, Maurice. "A propos de la patrie et de la date de *Floire et Blanchefleur* (version 'aristocratique')." In *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature romanes, offerts à Mario Roques*, vol. IV. Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1952. 53-98.
- Delehaye, Hippolyte. *The Legends of the Saints*. Trans. Donald Attwater. 2nd edn. London: Chapman; New York: Fordham University Press, 1962.
- Dembowski, Peter F. "Literary Problems of Hagiography in Old French." *Medievalia et Humanistica*, NS, 7 (1976): 117-30.
- Deyermund, Alan. "The Interaction of Courtly and Popular Elements in Medieval Spanish Literature." In Burgess, ed., *Court and Poet*. 21-42.

Bibliography

- "The Lost Genre of Medieval Spanish Literature." *Hispanic Review* 43 (1975): 231-59.
- "The Lost Literature of Medieval Spain: Excerpts from a Tentative Catalogue." *La Corónica* 5 (1976-77): 93-100.
- "The *Libro de los engaños*: Its Social and Literary Context." In Burgess, ed., *The Spirit of the Court*. 158-67.
- A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*. 2 vols. Ed. William Smith. London: John Murray, 1878. vol. 1, 456.
- Elkhadem, Saad. *The York Companion to Themes and Motifs of World Literature: Mythology, History, and Folklore*. Fredericton, NB : York Press, 1981.
- Erickson, Carolly. *The Medieval Vision: Essays in History and Perception*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Ernst, Lorenz. *Floire und Blantscheflur: Studie zur vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft*. Strasbourg: Trübner, 1912.
- Faral, Edmond. "Pour l'histoire de *Berte au Grand Pied* et de *Marcoul et Salomon*." *Romania* 40 (1911): 93-96.
- Farmer, David Hugh. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. 2nd edn. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Faulhaber, Charles B. "Some Private and Semi-Private Spanish Libraries: Travel Notes." *La Corónica* 4 (1975-76): 81-89.
- et al. *Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts*. 3rd edn. Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1984. 115. Entry 1544.
- Ferrante, Joan M. *The Conflict of Love and Honor: The Medieval Tristan Legend in France, Germany and Italy*. The Hague: Mouton, 1973.
- "Cortes' Amor in Medieval Texts." *Speculum* 55 (1980): 686-95.
- "Some Thoughts on the Application of Modern Critical Methods to Medieval Literature." *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature* 28 (1979): 5-9.
- Fewster, Carol. *Traditionality and Genre in Middle English Romance*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987.
- Fildes, Valerie A. *Wet Nursing: A History from Antiquity to the Present*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.
- Fitch, C. Bruce. "A Clue to the Genealogy of the *Gran conquista de Ultramar*." *Romance Notes* 15 (1973-74): 578-80.
- Forcione, Alban K. *Cervantes and the Humanist Vision: A Study of Four Exemplary Novels*. Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Cervantes and the Mystery of Lawlessness: A Study of "El casamiento engañoso" and "El coloquio de los perros"*. Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Foulché-Delbosc, R. *Manuel de l'hispanisant*. 2 vols. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920-25. Reprint New York: Kraus Reprints Corp., 1970.
- Fradejas Lebrero, José. "Algunas notas sobre *Enrique fi de Oliva*, novela del siglo XIV." In *Actas del I Simposio de Literatura Española, Salamanca, del 7 al 11 de mayo de 1979*. Ed. Alberto Navarro González (Acta Salmanticensia, Filosofía y Letras 125). Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1981.
- Franklin, Albert B. "A Study of the Origins of the Legend of Bernardo del Carpio." *Hispanic Review* 5 (1937): 286-303.
- Freccero, John. "The Fig Tree and the Laurel: Petrarch's Poetics." *Diacritics* 5 (1975): 34-40.

Bibliography

- Dante: *The Poetics of Conversion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Friedman, Lionel J. "The Yarn of the *Chanson de toile* Respun." *Modern Language Quarterly* 24 (1963): 104-10.
- Frye, Northrop. *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Gallais, Pierre. "Hexagonal and Spiral Structure in Medieval Narrative." *Yale French Studies* 51 (1974): 115-32.
- Gardiner, F.C. *The Pilgrimage of Desire: A Study of Theme and Genre in Medieval Literature*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971.
- Gathercole, Patricia May. *Tension in Boccaccio: Boccaccio and the Fine Arts* (Romance Monographs, 14). University, MI: Romance Monographs, 1975.
- Gayangos y Arce, Pascual de, ed. *Libros de caballerías*. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 40. Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1857.
- Geddes, Sharon S. "The Middle English Poem of *Floriz and Blancheflur* and the *Arabian Nights* 'Tale of Niamah and Naomi': A Study in Parallels." *Emporia State Research Studies* 19 (1970): 14-24.
- Gégou, Fabienne. "Du Roi de Sicile aux Vœux de l'épervier." In *Jean Misrahi Memorial Volume: Studies in Medieval Literature*. Ed. Hans R. Runte et. al. Columbia, SC: French Literature Publications Co., 1977. 71-88.
- Gellrich, Jesse M. *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language Theory, Mythology, and Fiction*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Gelsinger, Bruce E. "A Thirteenth-Century Norwegian-Castilian Alliance." *Medievalia et Humanistica*, NS, 10 (1981): 55-80.
- Giacone, Roberto. "*Floris and Blancheflur*: Critical Issues." *Rivista di Studi Classici* 27 (1979): 395-405.
- Gittings, Robert. "Rich Antiquity." In *Twentieth Century Interpretations of "The Eve of St. Agnes": A Collection of Critical Essays*. Ed. Allan Danzig. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971. 86-98
- Glass, Dorothy. "*In principio*: The Creation in the Middle Ages." In Roberts, ed. *Approaches to Nature in the Middle Ages*. 67-104.
- Gómez Pérez, José. "Elaboración de la *Primera crónica general de España* y su transmisión manuscrita." *Scriptorium* 17 (1963): 233-76.
- "La *Estoria de España* alfonsí de Fruela II a Fernando III." *Hispania* (Madrid) 25 (1965): 485-520.
- "Fuentes y cronología en la *Primera crónica general de España*." *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 67 (1959): 615-84.
- "Leyendas carolingias en España." *Anuario de Filología* (Maracaibo) 4 (1964-65): 121-48.
- "Leyendas del ciclo carolingio en España." *Revista de Literatura* 28: 55-56 (1965): 5-18.
- "Leyendas medievales españolas del ciclo carolingio." *Anuario de Filología* (Maracaibo) 2-3 (1963-64): 7-136.
- "Manuscritos del Toledano, III." *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 67 (1959): 127-64.
- "Siete palinsestos en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid." *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 65 (1958): 439-51.

Bibliography

- González, Cristina. "Bibliografía de la *Gran conquista de Ultramar*." *La Corónica* 17 (1988-89): 102-08.
- González del Río, J. Review of Myrrha Lot-Borodine, *Le Roman idyllique au Moyen Age* and Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, ed., *La historia de los dos enamorados Flores y Blancaflor*. *Revista de Filología Española* 5 (1918): 308-10.
- Gould, Chester Nathan. "The *Friðþjófs saga*: An Oriental Tale." *Scandinavian Studies and Notes* 7 (1922-23): 219-50.
- Green, D.H. *Irony in the Medieval Romance*. Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Greene, Thomas M. "Resurrecting Rome: The Double Task of the Humanist Imagination." In Ramsey, ed. *Rome and the Renaissance*. 41-54.
- Grieve, Patricia E. *Desire and Death in the Spanish Sentimental Romance (1440-1550)*. Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1987.
- "*Flores y Blancaflor*: Hispanic Transformations of a Romance Theme." *La Corónica* 15 (1986-87): 67-71.
- Griffin, Clive. *The Crombergers of Seville: The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Gumbrecht, Hans Ulrich. "Literary Translation and its Social Conditioning in the Middle Ages: Four Spanish Romance Texts of the 13th Century." Trans. Helga Bennett. *Yale French Studies* 51 (1974): 205-22.
- Haidu, Peter. *Aesthetic Distance in Chrétien de Troyes: Irony and Comedy in 'Cligés' and 'Perceval'*. Geneva: Droz, 1968.
- "Making it (New) in the Middle Ages: Towards a Problematics of Alterity." *Diacritics* 4 (1974): 1-11.
- "Narrative Structure in *Floire et Blancheflor*: A Comparison with Two Romances of Chrétien de Troyes." *Romance Notes* 14 (1972-73): 383-86.
- "Narrativity and Language in Some XIIth-Century Romances." *Yale French Studies* 51 (1974): 133-46.
- Hall, J. B. "A Process of Adaptation: The Spanish Versions of the Romance of Tristan." In *The Legend of Arthur in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to A. H. Diverres by Colleagues, Pupils, and Friends*. Ed. P. B. Grout et al. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983.
- Hallberg, Peter. *The Icelandic Saga*. Trans. Peter Schach. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962.
- "Is There a 'Tristram-Group' of the *Riddarasögur*?" *Scandinavian Studies* 47 (1975): 1-17.
- Hannedouche, Suzanne. "Floire et Blancheflor." *Cahiers d'Etudes Cathares* 22 (1971) 50: 32-39.
- Hanning, Robert W. "Engin in Twelfth-Century Romance: An Examination of the *Roman d'Eneas* and Hue de Rotelande's *Ipomedon*." *Yale French Studies* 51 (1974): 82-99.
- "The Social Significance of Twelfth-Century Chivalric Romance." In *Medievalia et Humanistica*, ns 3 (1972): 3-29.
- The Individual in Twelfth-Century Romance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Havely, Nicholas. *Chaucer's Boccaccio*. Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Heffernan, Carol Falvo. "The Bird-Snare Figure and the Love Quest of *The Romance of the Rose*." In Burgess, ed. *Spirit of the Court*. 179-84.

Bibliography

- "The Two Gardens of *The Franklin's Tale*." In Burgess, ed. *Court and Poet*. 177-88.
- Herzog, Hans. *Die beiden Sagenkreise von 'Floire und Blanscheflur': eine litterarhistorische Studie*. Diss. University of Zurich, 1884. Vienna: Verlag des Verfassers. 1884.
- Hibbard, Laura A. *Mediaeval Romance in England: A Study of the Sources and Analogues of the Non-Cyclic Metrical Romances*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1924. Rpt. Burt Franklin Bibliographical and Reference Series, 17. New York: Burt Franklin, 1960.
- Hollander, Lee. Review of *Erex saga*, ed. Foster W. Blaisdell. *Modern Language Notes* 83 (1968): 780.
- Hollander, Robert. *Boccaccio's Last Fiction: 'Il Corbaccio'*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.
- Boccaccio's Two Venuses*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977.
- Hopper, Vincent Foster. *Medieval Number Symbolism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.
- Howard, Jean. "The New Historicism in Literary Study." *English Literary Renaissance* 16 (1986): 13-43.
- Huet, Gédéon. "Encore Floire et Blanchefleur." *Romania* 35 (1906): 95-100.
- "Sur l'origine de Floire et Blanchefleur." *Romania* 28 (1899): 348-59.
- Hume, Kathryn. "Beginnings and Endings in the Icelandic Family Sagas." *Modern Language Review* 68 (1973): 593-606.
- "Structure and Perspective: Romance and Hagiographic Features in the Amicus and Amelius Story." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 69 (1970): 89-107.
- Hunt, Tony. "Beginnings, Middles, and Ends: Some Interpretative Problems in Chrétien's *Yvain* and its Medieval Adaptations." In *The Craft of Fiction: Essays in Medieval Poetics*. Ed. Leigh A. Arrathoon. Ann Arbor, MI: Solaris Press, 1981. 83-117.
- Iser, Wolfgang. *The Act of Reading*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Jackson, T.R. "Religion and Love in *Floire und Blanscheflur*." *Oxford German Studies* 4 (1969): 12-25.
- Jackson, W.T.H. *The Challenge of the Medieval Text: Studies in Genre and Interpretation*. Ed. Joan M. Ferrante and Robert W. Hanning. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Jauss, Hans Robert. *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*. Trans. Timothy Bahti (Theory and History of Literature, 1). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982.
- Jochens, Jenny M. "Consent in Marriage: Old Norse Law, Life, and Literature." *Scandinavian Studies* 58 (1986): 142-76.
- Johnston, Grahame. "The Breton Lays in Middle English." In *Iceland and the Mediaeval World*. Ed. Gabriel Turville-Petre and John Stanley Martin. Melbourne: Wilke, 1974. 151-61.
- Johnston, Oliver Martin. "Notes on Floire et Blancheflor." *Flugel Memorial Volume*. Leland Stanford Junior University Publication. Stanford University, 1916.
- "Two Notes on Floire et Blanceflor." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 55 (1935): 197-99.

Bibliography

- "The Description of the Emir's Orchard in *Floire et Blancheflor*". *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 32 (1908): 705-10.
- "The Legend of Berte *aus grans piés* and the *Märchen* of Little Snow White." *Revue des Langues Romanes* 51 (1908): 545-47.
- "Origin of the Legend of *Floire and Blancheflor*". In *Matzke Memorial Volume*. Ed. E. Flugel *et al.*, Stanford University Press, 1911. 125-38.
- Kalinke, Marianne. "Norse Romance (*Riddarasögur*)." In *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide*. Ed. Carol J. Clover and John Lindow. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Karl, Louis. "La Hongrie et les Hongrois dans les chansons de geste." *Revue des Langues Romanes* 51 (1908): 5-38.
- Kay, Sarah. "The Tristan Story as Chivalric Romance, Feudal Epic and Fabliau." In Burgess, ed. *The Spirit of the Court*. 185-95.
- Kelly, Douglas. "The Scope of the Treatment of Composition in the Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Arts of Poetry." *Speculum* 41 (1966): 261-78.
- Kelly, Henry Ansgar. *Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Kendrick, Sir Thomas. *St James in Spain*. London: Methuen, 1960.
- Kibler, W. W. "Archetypal Imagery in *Floire and Blancheflor*." *Romance Quarterly* 35 (1988): 11-20.
- Kirkham, Victoria. "Reckoning with Boccaccio's *Questioni d'amore*." *Modern Language Notes* 89 (1974): 47-59.
- Klenke, Sister M. Amelia. "The *Blancheflor*-Percival Question." *Romance Philology* 6 (1952-53): 173-78.
- Knudson, Charles A. "Le Thème de la princesse sarrasine dans *La Prise d'Orange*." *Romance Philology* 22 (1968-69): 449-62.
- Koch, Robert A. "The Origin of the Fleur-de-Lis and the *Lilium condidum* in Art." In Roberts, ed. *Approaches to Nature in the Middle Ages*. 109-130.
- Kolve, V. A. *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative: The First Five Canterbury Tales*. Stanford University Press, 1984.
- Krappe, Alexander Haggerty. "Une Version noroise de la *Reine Sibille*." *Romania* 56 (1930): 585-88.
- Kratins, Ojars. "The Middle English *Amis and Amiloun*: Chivalric Romance or Secular Hagiography?" *PMLA* 81 (1966): 347-54.
- Krueger, Roberta L. "*Floire et Blancheflor*'s Literary Subtext: The 'Version aristocratique'." *Romance Notes* 24 (1983-84): 65-70.
- Lacarra, María Eugenia. "Some Questions on the Function of the Castilian Epic." *La Corónica* 11 (1982-83): 258-64.
- Lacy, Norris J., ed. *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 1986.
- "Spatial Form in Medieval Romance." *Yale French Studies* 51 (1974): 160-69.
- Ladner, Gerhart B. "Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: A Comparison." *Speculum* 54 (1979): 223-56.
- Lasry, Anita Benaim. "The Ideal Heroine in Medieval Romances: A Quest for a Paradigm." *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 32 (1985): 227-43.
- Leach, Henry Goddard. *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia* (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 6). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921.

Bibliography

- Leclanche, Jean Luc. "La Date du conte de *Floire et Blancheflor*." *Romania* 92 (1971): 556-67.
- "Remarques sur la versification du *Conte de Floire et Blanchefleur*." *Romania* 95 (1974): 114-27.
- Leclercq, Jean. *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*. Trans. Catherine Misrahi. 3rd edn. New York: Fordham University Press, 1982.
- Lecureux, Lucien. Review of J. H. Reinhold, *Floire et Blancheflor: étude de littérature comparée* (Paris: E. Larose, 1906). *Romania* 37 (1908): 310-13.
- Le Gentil, Pierre. *La "Chanson de Roland"*. Paris: Hatier, 1967.
- Lock, Richard. *Aspects of Time in Medieval Literature*. New York: Garland, 1985.
- Longnon, Auguste. "L'Elément historique de *Huon de Bordeaux*." *Romania* 8 (1879): 1-11.
- Lot-Borodine, Myrrha. *Le Roman idyllique au moyen-âge*. Paris: A. Picard, 1913. 9-74.
- MacCracken, Henry N. "The Source of Keats's *Eve of Saint Agnes*." *Modern Philology* 5 (1907-08): 145-52.
- MacKay, Angus. *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500* (New Studies in Medieval History). London: Macmillan, 1977.
- Maier, John R. "Of Accused Queens and Wild Men: Folkloric Elements in *Carlos Maynes*." *La Corónica* 12 (1983-84): 21-31.
- Martínez, H. Salvador. *El 'Poema de Almería' y la épica románica*. Madrid: Gredos, 1975.
- Matulka, Barbara. *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion: A Study in Comparative Literature*. New York: Institute of French Studies, 1931.
- Mazzotta, Giuseppe. Review of Boccaccio and Fiammetta: *The Narrator as Lover*. *Renaissance Quarterly* 41 (1988): 295-297.
- The World at Play in Boccaccio's 'Decameron'*. Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Mehl, Dieter. *The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968; New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *'La Chanson de Roland' y el neotradicionalismo*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1959.
- Miller, Robert P., ed. *Chaucer: Sources and Backgrounds*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Minnis, A. J. *The Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*. 1984. Rpt. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press Middle Ages Series, 1988.
- Minnis, A. J. et al. *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c.1100-c.1375: The Commentary Tradition*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Mitchell, Phillip M. "Scandinavian Literature." In *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages: A Collaborative History*. Ed. Roger Sherman Loomis. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. 462-71.
- Moignet, Gérard. "Sur le vers 177 de *Floire et Blancheflor*." *Romania* 80 (1959): 254-55.

Bibliography

- Muret, Ernest. Review of A. Feist, *Zur Kritik der Bertasage*, Steugel, *Ausg. und Abband*, 59 (1885) (dissertation). *Romania* 14 (1885): 608–11.
- Nichols, Jr., Stephen G. "The Interaction of Life and Literature in the *Peregrinationes ad loca sancta* and the *Chansons de geste*." *Speculum* 44 (1969): 51–77.
- "A Poetics of Historicism? Recent Trends in Medieval Literary Study." *Medievalia et Humanistica*, NS 8 (1977): 77–101.
- Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- "Style and Structure in *Gormont et Isembart*." *Romania* 84 (1963): 500–35.
- Norton, F. J. *Printing in Spain: 1501–1520*. Cambridge University Press, 1966.
- A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal: 1501–1520*. Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A History of Medieval Spain*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- O'Gorman, Richard. "Un nouveau fragment du *Merlin* en prose de Robert de Boron." *Romania* 84 (1963): 251–55.
- Paris, Gaston. "Review of *Il Cantare di Fiorio et Blanciflore*." Ed. V. Crescini. *Romania* 28 (1899): 439–47.
- "Les Contes orientaux dans la littérature française." Paris: A. Franck, 1875; rpt. from *Revue politique et littéraire* 15 (1875): 1010–17.
- La Littérature française au Moyen Age*. Paris: Hachette, 1888. 2nd edn. 1890. 82–83. 9th edn. 1929. 87–88.
- Poèmes et légendes du Moyen Age*. Paris: Société d'Édition Artistique, [1900].
- Pattison, D. G. *From Legend to Chronicle: The Treatment of Epic Material in Alphonsine Historiography*. *Medium Aevum* Monographs, NS 13. Oxford: The Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1983.
- Perella, Nicolas James. "The World of Boccaccio's *Filocolo*." *PMLA* 76 (1961): 330–39.
- Pizzi, Italo. *Le somiglianze e le relazioni tra la poesia persiana e la nostra del medio evo: memoria*. Turin: Clausen, 1892.
- Powell, Brian. *Epic and Chronicle: 'The Poema de mio Çid' and 'Crónica de veinte reyes'*. MHRA Texts and Dissertations, 18. London: MHRA, 1983.
- Prescott, Anne Lake. "Spenser's Chivalric Restoration: From Bateman's *Travayled Pylgrime* to the Redcrosse Knight." *Studies in Philology* 84 (1989): 167–97.
- Price, Jocelyn. "*Floire et Blancheflor*: The Magic and Mechanics of Love." *Reading Medieval Studies* 8 (1982): 12–33.
- Prins, A. A. "Two Notes to the Prologue of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*." *English Studies* 30 (1949): 42–44.
- Quaglio, Antonio Enzo. "Boccaccio e Lucano: una concordanza e una fonte dal *Filocolo* all' *Amorosa Visione*." *Cultura Neolatina* 23 (1963): 153–71.
- Scienza e mito nel Boccaccio*. Padua: Liviana, 1967.
- Quint, David. "The Boat of Romance and Renaissance Epic." In Brownlee, ed., *Romance: Generic Transformation*. 178–202.
- Ramsey, P. A., ed. *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth. Papers of the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 18). Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies Center, 1982.

Bibliography

- Rea, John A. "The Form of *Aucassin et Nicolette*." *Romance Notes* 15 (1973-74): 505-08.
- Reilly, Bernard F. "The *Historia Compostelana*: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish *Gesta*." *Speculum* 44 (1969): 78-85.
- Reinhold, Joachim Henry. "Chronique au sujet de *Floire et Blancheflor*." *Romania* 35 (1906): 335-36.
- Floire et Blancheflor: Etude de littérature comparée*. Paris: E. Larose, 1906.
- "*Floire und Blancheflor-Probleme*." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 42 (1922): 686-703.
- "Quelques remarques sur les sources de *Floire et Blancheflor*." *Revue de Philologie Française* 19 (1905): 153-75.
- "Über die verschiedenen Fassungen der Bertasage." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 35 (1911): 1-30, 129-52.
- Reiss, Edmund. "Symbolic Detail in Medieval Narrative: *Floris and Blancheflour*." *Papers on Language and Literature* 7 (1971): 339-50.
- Repertorio de impresos españoles perdidos e imaginarios*, vol. 1. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1982. Entry number 2673, 181-82.
- Reusch, Heinrich. *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*. Bonn: Mac Cohen & Sohn, 1883.
- Ricketts, Peter T. "The Hispanic Tradition of the *Breviari d'amor* by Matfre Ermengaud of Beziers." In *Hispanic Studies in Honour of Joseph Manson*. Ed. Dorothy M. Atkinson and Anthony H. Clarke. Oxford: Dolphin, 1972. 227-53.
- Rico, Francisco. *Alfonso el Sabio y la "General estoria": tres lecciones*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1972.
- Roberts, Lawrence D., ed. *Approaches to Nature in the Middle Ages: Papers of the Tenth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 16. Binghamton, NY: Center for Theory, Mythology, and Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1982.
- Rodríguez-Moñino, Antonio. *Historia de una infamia bibliográfica, la de San Antonio de 1823: realidad y leyenda de lo sucedido con los libros y papeles de don Bartolomé José Gallardo*. Madrid: Castalia, 1966.
- Rowland, Beryl. *Birds with Human Souls: A Guide to Bird Symbolism*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978.
- Runte, Hans R. et al., eds. *Jean Misrahi Memorial Volume: Studies in Medieval Literature*. Columbia, SC: French Literature Publications Co., 1977.
- Santillana, Marqués de. *Prohemios y cartas literarias*. Ed. Miguel Garci-Gómez. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1984.
- Scarborough, Connie L. Review of Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., *Romanesque Signs*. *Romance Quarterly* 33 (1986): 238-39.
- Schach, Paul. "Some Forms of Writer Intrusion in the *Islendingasögur*." *Scandinavian Studies* 42 (1970): 128-56.
- Schelp, Hanspeter. *Exemplarische Romanzen im Mittelenglischen*. Palaestra, 246. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967.
- Schlauch, Margaret. *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens*. New York University Press, 1927.

Bibliography

- Romance in Iceland*. New York: Russell and Russell; Princeton University Press; New York: American Scandinavian Foundation, 1934. 149–75 and 181–82.
- "The Women of the Icelandic Sagas." *American-Scandinavian Review* 31 (1943): 335–42.
- Schwartz, Regina. "Joseph's Bones and the Resurrection of the Text: Remembering in the Bible." In *The Book and the Text: The Bible and Literary Theory*. Ed. Regina Schwartz. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1990. 40–59.
- Remembering and Repeating: Biblical Creation in "Paradise Lost."* Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Scott, Anne. "Plans, Predictions, and Promises: Traditional Story Techniques and the Configuration of the Word and Deed in *King Horn*." In Brewer, ed., *Studies in Medieval English Romances*. 37–68.
- Seidenspinner-Núñez, Dayle. "Symmetry of Form and Emblematic Design in *El conde Partinuplés*." *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 30 (1983): 61–76.
- Severs, J. Burke, ed. *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1500*. New Haven: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1967.
- Seznec, Jean. *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*. Trans. Barbara F. Sessions. Bollingen Series, 38. Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Sharrer, Harvey L. "Eighteenth-Century Chapbook Adaptations of the *Historia de Flores y Blancaflor* by António da Silva, Mestre de Gramática." *Hispanic Review* 52 (1984): 59–74.
- The Legendary History of Britain in Lope García de Salazar's 'Libro de las bienandanzas e fortunas'*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979.
- Sholod, Barton. *Charlemagne in Spain: The Cultural Legacy of Roncesvalles*. Geneva: Droz, 1966.
- Smarr, Janet Levarie. *Boccaccio and Fiammetta: The Narrator as Lover*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- "Boccaccio's *Filocolo*: Romance, Epic, and Religious Allegory." *Forum Italicum* 12 (1978): 26–43.
- "Petrarch: A Virgil without a Rome." In Ramsey, ed., *Rome in the Renaissance*. 19–40.
- Smet, Gilbert A. R. de. "Der Trierer Floryis und seine französische Quelle." In *Festschrift für Ludwig Wolff zum 70. Geburtstag*. Neumunster: K. Wachholz, 1962. 203–16.
- Smith, Colin. "The Cid as Charlemagne in the 'Leyenda de Cardeña.'" *Romania* 97 (1976): 509–31.
- Smith, J. B. "Konrad Fleck's *Floire und Blanscheflur* and the Old Norse *Flóres Saga ok Blankiflúr*: A Stylistic Comparison." Unpublished MA thesis, University of Manchester, 1956.
- Spargo, John Webster. "The Basket Incident in *Floire et Blanceflor*." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 28 (1927): 69–75.
- Virgil the Necromancer: Studies in Virgilian Legends*. Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 10. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934.
- Spensley, R.M. "Allusion as a Structural Device in Three Old French Romances." *Romance Notes* 15 (1972–73): 349–54.

Bibliography

- Spiegel, Gabrielle M. "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages." *Speculum* 65 (1990): 59–86.
- Storm, Gustav. "Om Eufemiaviserne." In *Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi og Paedagogik*. New York: Roekke; Copenhagen: Otto Schwartz, 1874.
- Sundmacher, Heinrich. *Die altfranzösische und die mittelhochdeutsche Bearbeitung der Sage von Flore und Blanscheflur*. Göttingen: Druck der Dieterichschen Univ., 1872.
- Symonds, John Addington. *Giovanni Boccaccio as Man and Author*. London: John C. Nimmo, 1895. 29–37.
- Taggart, James M. *Enchanted Maidens: Gender Relations in Spanish Folktales of Courtship and Marriage*. Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Turville-Petre, Gabriel. *Origins of Icelandic Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953.
- Tuve, Rosamund. *Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity*. Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Uitti, Karl D. "The Clerkly Narrator Figure in Old French Hagiography and Romance." *Medioevo Romanzo* 2 (1975): 394–408.
- "A Note on Historiographical Vernacularization in Thirteenth-Century France and Spain." In *Homenaje a Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes*, vol. 1, 573–92. Oviedo: Universidad, 1985.
- Usher, Jonathan. "Boccaccio's Experimentation with Verbal Portraits from the *Filocolo* to the *Decameron*." *Modern Language Review* 77 (1982): 585–96.
- Vance, Eugene. "Love's Concordance: The Poetics of Desire and the Joy of the Text." *Diacritics* 5 (1975): 40–52.
- Merveilous Signals: Poetics and Sign Theory in the Middle Ages*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.
- From Topic to Tale: Logic and Narrativity in the Middle Ages*. Theory and History of Literature, vol. 47. Ed. Wlad Godzich and Jochen Schulte-Sasse. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.
- Wahlgren, Erik. "The Maiden King in Iceland." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1938.
- Waley, Pamela. "Love and Honour in the *Novelas sentimentales* of Diego de San Pedro and Juan de Flores." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 43 (1966): 253–75.
- Wallace, David. "Chaucer and Boccaccio's Early Writings." In *Chaucer and the Italian Trecento*. Ed. Piero Boitani. Cambridge University Press, 1983. 141–62.
- Walsh, John K. "French Epic Legends in Spanish Hagiography: The *Vida de San Ginés* and the *Chanson de Roland*." *Hispanic Review* 50 (1982): 1–16.
- "Religious Motifs in the Early Spanish Epic." *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 36 (1970–71 [1974]): 165–72.
- Ward, Marvin J. "Floire et Blancheflor: A Bibliography." *Bulletin of Bibliography* 40 (1983): 45–64.
- Wardropper, Bruce W. "Don Quixote: Story or History?" *Modern Philology* 63 (1965): 1–11.
- Warner, Marina. *Alone of all Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*. New York: Vintage Books, 1983.

Bibliography

- Wasserman, Earl R. *The Finer Tone: Keats' Major Poems*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953.
- Weaver, Elissa. "Spiritual Fun: A Study of Sixteenth-Century Tuscan Convent Theater." In *Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Literary and Historical Perspectives*. Ed. Mary Beth Rose. Syracuse University Press, 1986. 173–205.
- Weinstein, Donald et al. *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christianity 1000–1700*. University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Wentersdorf, Karl P. "Iconographic Elements in *Floris and Blancheflower*." *Annuaire Mediaevale* 20 (1981): 76–96.
- Wenzel, Siegfried. "The Pilgrimage of Life as a Late Medieval Genre." *Mediaeval Studies* 35 (1973): 370–88.
- Whatley, Gordon. "Heathens and Saints: *St. Erkenwald* in Its Legendary Context." *Speculum* 61 (1986): 330–63.
- Wilkins, Ernest Hatch. *A History of Italian Literature*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954.
- Winter, John F. "Considerations on the Medieval and Renaissance Concept of Space." In Runte, et. al., *Jean Misrahi Memorial Volume: Studies in Medieval Literature*. 344–58.
- Wittig, Susan. *Stylistic and Narrative Structures in the Middle English Romances*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978.
- Wolf, Kenneth Baxter. *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (Translated Texts for Historians 9). Liverpool University Press, 1990.
- Zink, Georges. "Les Poèmes arthuriens dans les pays scandinaves." *Les Relations littéraires franco-scandinaves au Moyen Age: Actes du Colloque de Liège*. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1975. 77–95.

Index

1. Names, placenames and titles

- Abilit (Moorish King, *Primera crónica general*), 24
 Aeneas, 112
 Adam, 136
 Adam de la Halle, *Roi de Sicile*, 113
 Adenet le Roi, *Berthe au grand pie*, 186
 Agidius, 15n
 Agnes, St., feast of, 193
 Alexander the Great, 113–14
 Alexandria, 135–7
 Alfanges, *see under* court figures
 Alfonso I (el Católico), 24, 50
 Alfonso VII, 48
 Alfonso X, ix, 16n, 22–4, 27, 28, 30, 32, 35, 45, 48, 50, 80, 119n, 120n, 167, 170, 184–5, 188; *Estoria de España, Primera crónica general*, ix, 16n, 22–4, 27, 28, 32, 45, 48, 50, 199n, 120n, 167, 188; *see also* Floire and Blancheflor, European versions; Spanish Chronicle
 Almería, *see under* Spain
 Alvar, Manuel, 196
 Airam, Alleiram, Annanoi, and Asenga (*Il Filocolo*), 127
 Alulit (Moorish King, *Primera crónica general*), 24n
 Amis and Amile, *chanson de geste* of, 3n
 Aphrodite, 150
 Apollo, 147
 Apuleius, Lucius, *Metamorphoses*, 150n; *Golden Ass*, 150n
 Armistead, Samuel, 196–7
 Arthur, 146
 Arthurian romances, 68, 146
 Attwater, Donald, 103n
 Aucassin et Nicolette, 16, 20, 36–7, 160
 Auerbach, Eric, 177n
 Augustine, St. (of Hippo), 5, 10, 20, 26, 28, 96–100, 108, 129n, 138, 143–4, 150, 153, 176, 178, 185; *City of God*, 129n, 20; *Confessions*, 5, 96–7, 99
 Babylon (Babilonia), 25, 46, 48–9, 68, 95, 135, 137, 191; King of, *see under* Blancheflor's captor
 Baghdad (Baudac), 46, 48–49
 Barnes, Geraldine, 36, 55–6, 58, 62, 75, 78–80, 82, 98, 115, 118–19, 159
 Basset, René, 20
 Battaglia, Salvatore, 139
 Beatrice del Sera, *Amor di virtù*, 2n, 4
 Bénichou, Paul, 194n, 195–6
 Benmayor, Rina, 196
 Benardete, Maír José, 196–7
 Bergin, Thomas, 12
 Bernard, St., 26, 97, 143, 162n
 Berthe (Berta), 1, 18, 22, 27–9, 30, 45–6, 47n, 50, 183, 186, 198; *Berta (Primera crónica general)*, 22, 27, 47n, 50, 186; *Berthe au grand pie*, *see under* Adenet le Roi; *Berthe aux grans pies*, 18, 28, 183, 198; *see also* Blancheflor's origins; children and descendants of Floire and Blancheflor
 Blanche (daughter of Louis IX), 34, 169
 Blancheflor, 1–3, 18, 25–6, 29, 30n, 36, 40, 44, 48, 50, 53, 55, 57–72, 74, 75, 77–9, 82, 90–1, 92–4, 95, 96–7, 99, 100, 111–2, 115, 116, 118, 136–8, 142–5, 153–5, 157, 161, 163, 166, 168–71, 182–7, 190–1, 193, 199–201; imprisoned in tower, 65–72; selling of, 57–65, 74; Aurabeatrice, 2n; Bianciflore, 3, 58, 59–64, 65–67, 70, 72, 75–6, 83–4, 90–1, 96n, 104, 106, 111, 124–5, 126–8, 129–31, 139, 145, 149–54, 157, 166, 171–5, 177, 180, 183; Blancaflor, 25–6, 30n, 41–3, 50, 58, 62, 64–5, 69–72, 75, 78–9, 82, 90–1, 96–7, 99, 100, 115, 136–8, 142–4, 153, 155, 163, 168–71, 185–7, 190, 199–201; Blancaflor (ballad tradition), 194; Blancaflor (courtship folktales), 198–201; Blanchefleur, 94, 191; Blankiflúr, 36, 96n,

Index

- Blancheflor (*cont.*)
 154, 161, 163, 166, 182; Blaunchefflor, 94n; Blawnchefflor, 190
- Blancheflor's captor: Admiral, 1, 64, 66, 73-4, 76, 79, 83-5, 91, 92, 93, 100, 136, 143-4; Emir, 1, 67, 77-8, 91, 95, 137, 163, 183; King of Babylon, 29-30, 66-7, 69-70, 73, 79-80, 81-2, 101, 116, 143-4, 171, 189
- Blancheflor's female friend: Claris (Gloris), 2, 19, 25-6, 40, 41-3, 71, 95, 128, 136; Eloris, 19; Glorisia, 136; Glorizia, 43, 72, 128
- Blancheflor's origins, 8, 57-60, 63-4, 90-1, 102, 116, 119, 129, 137, 138, 140, 142-4, 152, 154, 158, 162, 163, 176, 179, 182; Berta, 8, 97-8, 143, 154, 162, 185; Caesar 116, 120; Giulia, 59-60, 63, 90, 116, 120, 152, 158, 172, 178; Lelio, 58, 59, 90, 129, 152, 154, 158, 172, 178, 183; Miçer Persio, 91, 119, 137, 189; Topacia, 119, 137, 162
- Bloch, R. Howard, 145n, 184
- Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Renate, 60n, 113, 114n
- Boccaccio, Giovanni, x, 1, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 26, 30n, 32-3, 42, 43, 54, 56, 57-77, 79, 81, 83-5, 86-92, 95, 98-110, 111-17, 119, 120, 122-8, 129-33, 134-5, 138-58, 159-64, 166-7, 169, 171-81, 183, 189, 191-3, 199, 200; *Caccia di Diana*, 150n; *Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine*, 175; *Il Corbaccio*, 64; *Decameron*, 64, 103, 125, 171, 176 179, 181; *Il Filocolo*, x, 1, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 26, 30n, 32-3, 42, 43, 50, 54, 56, 57-63, 65-71, 72-3, 75-7, 79, 81, 83-5, 86-90, 91-2, 95, 98-110, 111-12, 114, 115-17, 119, 120, 122, 123-8, 129-31, 132-3, 134-5, 138, 139-58, 160-4, 166-7, 169, 171-81, 183, 189, 191-3, 199, 200; *Genealogy of the Gods*, 150n; *Ninfale fiesolano*, 175; *Trattatello in laude di Dante*, 180
- Bone Florence de Rome*, 53
- Bonilla y San Martín, Adolfo, ix, 20-1
- Brewer, Derek, 11
- Brother Robert, 36, 37, 47-8, 50, 115
- Brown, Peter, 152, 173-4
- Brunet, J.-Ch., 21, 193; *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, 21
- Brunner, Hugo, 20
- Bullis, 49
- Bulvies, 25, 49
- Bynum, Caroline Walker, 97, 145n, 165, 167; *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 165; *Jesus as Mother*, 97, 145n
- Cáceres, *see under* Spain
- Cacho Blecua, Juan Manuel, 98n
- Caesar, 111-2; *see also* Blancaflor's origins
- Cairo, *see under* Egypt
- Caleon (*Il Filocolo*), 105-6, 109, 116, 124, 127-8, 144, 147-9, 151-3, 156, 177
- Calin, William, 71, 93, 96, 135
- Capitán (Spanish prose romance), *see under* porter of tower
- Cassell, Anthony, 150n
- Castor and Pollux, 96n, 147
- Catalán, Diego, 22n, 28, 30-31, 32, 34n, 121, 185
- Cerda, Alfonso de la, 169
- Cerda, Fernando de la, 34
- Certaldo, 156
- Cervantes, Miguel de, *Colloquy of the Dogs*, 87n
- Chanson de Roland*, 47-8, 59
- Charlemagne, 18, 22, 24n, 25n, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 47-8, 50, 140, 143, 158, 168, 182-3, 185-8; *see also* children and descendants of Floire and Blancheflor
- Chartres, 25n
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, 68, 87, 89, 101, 104, 145, 151, 186; *Canterbury Tales*, 87; *Man of Law's Tale*, 89, 101
- Cheney, Donald, 12, 96, 104n, 116-7
- children and descendants of Floire and Blancheflor: Berta, 29-30, 50, 122, 168, 183, 186-9; Berthe, 53, 122, 154, 182; Charlemagne, 35, 140, 143, 168, 182-3, 185-6, 189; Flóres, 182; Gordión, 154, 183, 188, 189; Lelio, 91, 150n, 183, 189; Sedentiana, 154, 182
- Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain*, 146, 159
- Christ, Karl, x, 15
- Chronicle of 754*, 55n
- Claris (Gloris), *see under* Blancheflor's female friend
- Claris and Laris*, 18
- Clover, Carol, 121, 123n
- Coleman, Janet, 95n
- Columbia University, 196
- Cooper, Helen, 55-6, 74
- Córdoba, *see under* Spain
- court figures: Alfages (Alfanges), 25, 39-40, 42, 80; Gaiffier, King of Nubia, 77, 79, 81; Gradifer, 25, 39, 81; Tençer, 25, 39, 75, 80-1
- Cromberger Brothers (printers), 20-1
- Crusades, 89
- Cupid (*Il Filocolo*), 114, 173
- D'Ancona, Alessandro, 2n
- Dante, 100, 125, 129, 176, 180; *Divine Comedy*, 180
- Davidoff, Judith, 11
- Davis, Charles, 129n
- Davis, Natalie, 179
- Daytes, *see under* helpers in Babylon

Index

- Delehay, Hippolyte, 3
 Deyermond, A. D., ix, 3n, 32n
 Diana (*Il Filocolo*), 127, 141
 Diederich van Assenede, 39–43, 71n; *see also*
 Floire and Blancheflor, Middle Dutch
 version
 Diogenés (Old French popular poem), 49
 Du Méril, Edélestand, 15, 17, 18, 19, 39, 41n,
 119
 Duby, Georges, 177n
 Dupront, Alphonse, 152
- Eden, 136, 143, 184
 Egypt, 153; Cairo, 1, 49, 137; *see also* Babylon
Erl of Tolous, The, 53
 Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, 31
 Elihu, 166
 Elysian Fields, 135
 Emaré, 53, 111, 148n, 190–1
 Emmaus, 107–10, 157–8, 172
 Emir, *see under* Blancheflor's captor
 England, 18, 182
 Enrique II of Castile, 35
 Ernst, Lorenz, 38
Eschecs amoureux, 68
Estoria de España, *see under* Alfonso X
Estoria del Cid, 31, 32
Estoria de los Reyes, 32, 33
 Eucomos (*Il Filocolo*), 126–7
 Eusebius, 184
 Eustace, St., 172
 Eve, 136
- Fair Annie*, 197
 Farmer, David Hugh, 103n
 Fates, 144
 Fear of God (*Il Filocolo*), 104
 Felipe (brother of Alfonso X), 37, 50, 80
 Fewster, Carol, 11
 Fiammetta (*Il Filocolo*), 66–7, 105–6, 109,
 124–6, 146–9, 156–7, 164
 Fildes, Valerie, 44–5, 97, 98n
 Fileno (*Il Filocolo*), 124, 128, 144, 148–51
 Fleck, Konrad, *Flore und Blanschefur*, *see*
 under Floire and Blancheflor, European
 versions, Middle High German
 Floire, 1–3, 18, 25–6, 29–31, 34–6, 40, 42, 43,
 44, 46, 48–9, 50, 53, 54, 56–9, 62–72,
 74–85, 90–1, 93–5, 96–7, 99, 101, 102–6,
 111–12, 114, 116, 118, 120–22, 124–32,
 135–7, 139, 141–5, 149–57, 161–6,
 168–75, 176–9, 180, 182, 183, 186–91,
 193–4, 199; in the basket, 67, 69–72, 92;
 Flor, Count (ballad tradition), 194;
 Flores, 25–6, 29–31, 34, 43, 50, 56, 58,
 62–6, 68–9, 71–2, 74–5, 78–80, 81–2, 85,
 90–1, 96–7, 99, 101, 112, 116, 122, 136–8,
 142–4, 153–6, 161–6, 168–71, 174, 176,
 178, 182, 183, 186–9, 190, 193; as a figure
 of Charlemagne, 187, 192; Flóres, 36, 48,
 96n, 118, 154; Florido Febo, 2n; Florio,
 3, 58, 59, 62, 64–7, 72, 75–6, 83–5, 90,
 102–6, 114, 120–1, 124–5, 126–32, 133,
 139, 144, 149–53, 154–7, 164, 166, 171–3,
 175–9, 192; as *Filocolo*, 65, 70–2, 75,
 83–5, 90, 102–6, 109–10, 111, 117, 120–1,
 124–5, 135, 141, 144–5, 149–53, 164, 166,
 171–3, 176–9, 180; Floris, 68, 78, 93, 161,
 191; Florys, 190
- Floire and Blancheflor*, European versions:
Floris and Blancheflor, 191; *Cantare di*
Fiorio e Bianciflore, 4, 9, 16, 18, 30n, 42,
 57–8, 61, 69, 72n, 73–4, 89, 96n, 111, 138,
 139, 183, 189; Greek prose, 9, 18, 68,
 73–4, 132, 200; *Il Filocolo*, *see under*
 Boccaccio; Italo-Spanish group, *see*
under *Cantare di Fiorio e Bianciflore*, *Il*
Filocolo, Spanish Chronicle and Spanish
 prose romance; Low Rhenish Trier
 fragments, 15, 19, 41, 42, 163; Middle
 Dutch (*Floris ende Blanscheflor door*
Diederich van Assenede) 9, 16, 19, 40, 41,
 42, 72, 80; Middle English (*Floris and*
Blanscheflor), 7, 9, 19, 40, 41, 42, 53–4,
 55–6, 57, 58, 62–3, 66, 68–9, 71–2, 76–8,
 80–1, 82, 85, 93–4, 97–8, 100, 111, 116,
 118–9, 132, 134–5, 159–61, 166–7, 172,
 185, 191; Auchinleck MS, 40n, 78, 161;
 Cambridge MS, 40n, 78; Cotton Vitellius
 MS, 40n, 78; Egerton MS, 40n, 78;
 Middle High German (*Flore und*
Blanschefur, eine Erzählung von Konrad
Fleck), 9, 19, 40, 41–2, 53–4, 69, 132, 140;
 Old French aristocratic poem (*Floire et*
Blancheflor), 7, 9, 15, 16, 19, 24, 28–30,
 36–8, 39, 41–3, 45–50, 53–4, 55–6, 57, 58,
 61–3, 66, 69, 71–2, 76–83, 85, 86–7, 89,
 92n, 94–5, 97, 98n, 100, 111–12, 116,
 118–19, 122, 123, 132, 134–6, 139–40,
 159–61, 163, 166, 172, 175, 183, 185, 191,
 199; Old French poem (Palatine
 fragment), 15, 17, 18, 19, 44, 45–6, 48, 53,
 55, 57, 61, 139, 159–61, 163, 172; Old
 French popular poem, 1, 7, 9, 15, 24,
 28–30, 42, 48–9, 53–4, 55, 57, 58, 61–3,
 69, 71, 75, 86, 111, 118–19, 132, 139,
 159–61, 163, 172, 188–9; Old Norse-
 Icelandic (*Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr*), 4n,
 5, 9, 16, 17, 19, 36–9, 40, 41, 42, 47–8,
 49–50, 53–4, 57, 62, 69, 80–1, 89, 96n,
 97–8, 100, 111, 115, 118–19, 122, 134–5,
 160–1, 163, 166–7, 169, 182, 191; Spanish
 Chronicle (*Crónica de Flores y*
Blancaflor), ix–x, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17,
 18, 19, 20, 21, 22n, 23, 27, 30–6, 38–40,
 41–3, 45–50, 53–4, 57, 59, 61–4, 65,

Index

Floire and Blancheflor (cont.)

- 66–72, 73–6, 77, 80–5, 86–8, 89, 94,
96–101, 111–12, 115–16, 119, 132, 134–5,
137n, 138–44, 152–5, 160–3, 166–7,
167–71, 174–6, 179, 184–9, 191, 196, 198,
199–201; Spanish prose romance
(*Historia de los dos enamorados Flores y
Blancaflor*), ix, 1, 3n, 4, 9, 16, 19, 20–2,
42, 43, 48, 54, 57, 58, 63, 68–70, 72, 74,
76–8, 85, 86, 89–91, 100–1, 115, 119, 132,
135–7, 154, 161–2, 163–4, 183, 189,
192–3, 199, 200–1
- Forcione, Alban K., 87n
- Fortune, 145
- Fradejas Lebrero, José, xn, 20, 23, 140n
- Frakkland, 182
- France, 4, 16, 34–5, 143, 163, 182, 194, 195;
“idea of,” 31, 119n; Paris, 129, 163
- Freccero, John, 5, 165
- Freeman-Regalado, Nancy, 146
- Fridþjófssaga*, 36–7
- Fruela (Asturian King), 22, 24, 30, 188
- Frye, Northrop, 62, 100, 170
- Fusis, 49
- Gaiffier, King of Nubia, *see under* court
figures
- Galifa, el (the Caliph, Spanish chronicle-
version), 25, 30, 66, 143, 171
- Galicia, *see under* Spain
- Gallardo, Bartolomé José, 21
- Gandifer, *see under* teachers and masters
- Gannai (*Il Filocolo*), 126–7
- García de Salazar, Lope, *Libro de las
bienandanzas e fortunas* (“Good Fortune
and Fate”), 23n, 30n, 42, 46n, 183, 189
- Garden of Paradise, 87, 136
- Gardiner, F. C., 9, 107–9; *Pilgrimage of
Desire*, 107n
- Gathercole, Patricia May, 103n, 117
- Gayangos y Arce, Pascual de, 21
- Gaydon, *see under* teachers and masters
- Gégou, Fabienne, 113
- Gelsinger, Bruce, 37n
- Germany, 4, 18, 182
- Gerson, Jean, *Livre de contemplation*, 104
- Giacone, Roberto, ix–x, 15–16, 17, 19, 41, 140
- Gilbert (or Sigebert) de Gembloux
(Chronicler): *Chronographia*, 33, 184–5;
Grande estoria de África, 33
- Giotto, *Navicella*, 103, 117
- Gittings, Robert, 191–2
- God, 2n, 9, 12, 53, 58, 64, 69–70, 73–4, 76,
82–3, 91, 101, 109, 130, 136, 141, 142–3,
150, 154–5, 161–2, 165, 166–7, 168, 170,
177, 185, 190, 199
- Gómez Pérez, José, ix–x, 22, 23n, 28, 32–3, 49,
139n, 140, 185
- Gould, Chester, 36, 37n
- Grace-Dieu (*Il Filocolo*), 104
- Gradifer, *see under* court figures
- Gran conquista de Ultramar*, 28–30, 32–3,
139, 183, 188–9
- Grán crónica de Alfonso XI*, 121
- Grandes Chroniques*, 30–1, 120n; *see also*
France
- Greece, 18, 19
- Gregory the Great, 8, 107–10, 147–8, 150;
Commentary on the Song of Songs,
107–8
- Grieve, Patricia E., 4n
- Griffin, Clive, 20n
- Guarin (Spanish chronicle-version), 26, 116,
154
- Guillaume de Deguileville, *Pèlerinage de la
vie humaine*, 103–4, 106
- Guillém de Brocar, Arnao, 20n
- Haidu, Peter, 146
- Hákon Hákonarson (King of Norway), 36–9,
47, 80, 82, 115
- Hannedouche, Suzanne, 3n, 41n
- Hanning, Robert, 177n; *The Individual in
Twelfth-Century Romance*, 54
- Hartmann Von Aue, *Iwein*, 159
- Hausknecht, Emil, 21
- helpers in Babylon: Daytes, 25, 69, 153;
Licores, 25
- Henry VII (of France), 113–15, 116
- Hesperia, 102
- Herzog, Hans, 17, 18–20
- Hispanic balladry, 182, 193–8; “Blancaflor,”
198–201; “Count Flor,” 193–8; Ladino
balladry, 195; “The Moorish Queen
Xerifa,” 195–8; Sephardic balladry,
195–6; “Two Sisters Queen and
Captive,” 193–8
- Hispanic Society, 20n
- Hollander, Lee, 123n
- Hollander, Robert, 64; *Last Fiction*, 133,
175–6
- Howard, Jean, 167
- Hubert, Merton Jérôme, 40, 44, 46
- Huet, Gédéon, 20, 37, 92n
- Hugh of St. Victor, 148n
- Hume, Kathryn, 123n
- Hungary, 29
- Hunt, Tony, 159
- Huntington, Archer, 20n
- Hyacinth, legend of, 71
- Iceland, 36
- Idalogos (*Il Filocolo*), 124, 126–7, 130, 144,
149–50, 156, 175
- Index of Forbidden Books, 2
- Isabella the Catholic, 195

Index

- Iser, Wolfgang, 124
 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 71–2; *History of the Kings of the Goths*, 142n
 Isis, 145n; Io-Isis, 150
 Isolde, 4, 190–1
 Italy, 4, 18, 22, 113, 146; Naples, 156–7; as Naples 46–8; as Parthenope, 102, 145–6
 Jackson, T.R., 3n, 53, 54n
 James, St. (Santiago de Compostela), 1, 10, 57, 59, 89–90, 102–3, 116, 119, 158, 161, 187–8, 196, 201
 Jaus, Hans Robert, 6, 11
 Jerez de los Caballeros, Marqués de, 20n
 Jerusalem, 129
 Jesus Christ, 26, 53, 58, 68, 71, 90, 93, 97, 102, 104, 107, 110, 130, 138, 141, 146, 157, 166, 172–3, 179, 185; blood of, 143
 Jimena, *see under Poema de mio Cid*
 Job, 166
 Jochens, Jenny, 37
 John the Baptist, 193
 Jove (*Il Filocolo*), 60, 61, 141
 Juan I of Castile, 35
 Juno (*Il Filocolo*), 60, 61
 Kalinke, Marianne, 38
Karlamagnússaga, 36; *see also* Charlemagne
 Keats, John, *Eve of St. Agnes*, 3, 182, 191–3, 193
 Kelly, H. A., 64, 139–41, 177
King Horn, 177n
 Kirkham, Victoria, 104n, 105, 147–8, 150n
 Knight, Stephen, 177n
 Koch, Robert, 93n
 Kölbing, Eugen, 37–8, 41
 Kolve, V. A., 9, 87, 89, 100–1, 103–4, 129n, 148n; *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative*, 9, 87
 Krueger, Felicity, 140
 Krueger, Roberta, 86–7, 118–19
 Kristin (daughter of King Hákon of Norway), 37, 50, 80
Lancelot, 193
 Lazarus, 58
 Leach, Henry, 37
 Leclanche, Jean-Luc, 18, 40, 44, 111–12, 140
 Leclercq, Jean, 8
Leggenda della Reina Rosana e di Rosana sua Figliuola, 3n
Les Voeux de l'Epervier, 113–15
Les Voeux du paon, 60n, 113
Libro de Alexandre, 60n
 Licores, *see under* helpers in Babylon
Los votos del Pavon, 60n
 Lorenzetti, Ambrosio, 117
 Love, 67
 Luke (the evangelist), 107–9, 148, 157–8
Mainet, 183, 186–7
Mainete, 22, 28, 50
 Mak, Jacobus Johanes, 41
 Massamutino (seneschal, *Il Filocolo*), 25n, 59
 Marchand, Jean, 3n, 41n
 Maria (*Il Filocolo*), 156–7
 Marmorina (*Il Filocolo*), 99, 156
 Mars, 62
 Marsilias, 48, 59
 Mary (Virgin), 93, 97, 98n, 107, 156, 157–8
 Mary Magdalene, 58, 107, 157–8
 Matthew, St. (apostle), 100
 Matulka, Barbara, 75
 Mazzotta, Giuseppe, 176; *The World at Play*, 145
 McKnight, George H., 17
 Mehl, Dieter, xi, 53, 94n, 167, 190
Melusina, 199
 Messalino, 60, 153
 Menedon (*Il Filocolo*), 60, 130
 Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, 22, 24n, 28, 47n, 139n, 195, 196, 197
 Minnis, A. J., 11, 54; *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 54; *Medieval Theory and Criticism*, 54n
 Moignet, Gérard, 43–4
 Monica, St., 97, 138
 Montoro (Montorie, Muntorie, Montorio, Montoire), 25n, 46, 48, 57–8, 59, 62, 67, 74–5, 135; Duke of Ferramonte, 60, 61, 66–7, 148
 Naples, *see under* Italy
 Narcissus, legend of, 71
 narrator, 118–23, 124; in *Il Filocolo* 178–80; clerk as (Old French aristocratic poem), 78; Ilario as inscribed (*Il Filocolo*), 32, 60–1, 72, 76, 110, 116, 121, 129–31, 147–8, 150, 153–5, 166, 178–9; Sigiberto as (Spanish chronicle-version), 31–3, 73, 76, 122, 155, 188
 Nichols, Jr., Stephen J., 188; *Romanesque Signs*, 110, 184, 190
 Norton, F. J., *Printing in Spain: 1501–1520*, 21
 Norway, 37, 39, 50
 O'Callaghan, Joseph, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 34n
Octavian, 53
 Old Testament, 184
Officium Peregrinorum, 109
 Olafsson, Jón, 37n
 Osiris, 145n
 Ovid, 70, 88n, 130–1, 176

Index

- Pagan King, 1, 19, 24–5, 31, 45–6, 48, 56, 57, 58, 59–65, 73–4, 75–9, 83–5, 96n, 97, 98, 106, 112, 113, 114–15, 116–17, 124–5, 130, 136, 141, 142, 161, 162, 166, 173–5, 177, 184–5, 188, 200; Felice, 1, 19, 56, 57, 58, 59–65, 73–4, 83–5, 96n, 98, 106, 113, 114–15, 116–17, 124–5, 130, 141, 161, 166, 173–5, 177; Felice, 162; Felis, 19; Felix of Aples, 48; Fines, 24–5, 31, 45–6, 75–9, 116, 142, 162, 174, 184–5, 188, 200; Fenix, 19; Fenus, 19; Galerien, 48; Phenix, 19
- Pagan Queen, 1, 56, 57, 60, 62–3, 73, 115, 116–17, 137, 166, 174, 200
- Pallas Wisdom (Old French poems), 115
- Paris (Trojan hero), 111; see also Troy
- Paris, see *under* France
- Paris, Gaston, 4–5, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 29, 42
- Parmenione (*Il Filocolo*), 60, 105, 148
- Pattison, D. G., 22n
- Paul, St., 153, 155, 165, 178
- Pelan, Margaret, 17–18, 40, 43–4, 45, 46
- Pelayo (Asturian King), 24, 28
- Pepin the Short of France, 22, 122, 168, 183, 187, 189
- Perella, Nicholas, 73–4
- Persia, 10, 16, 20
- Petrarch, 129, 151
- Phoebus, 147
- Pilgrim (Pèlerinage de la vie humaine), 104
- Pizzi, Italo, 20, 92n
- Placidus, 172; see also Eustace, St.
- Pliny, 49n
- Poema de Almería*, 48
- Poema de mio Çid*, 58
- Porkelsson, Jón, 37n
- Porter of tower, 1, 26, 64, 67–71, 82, 131; Capitán (Spanish prose romance), 1, 64, 67–71, 82; Sadoc the castellan (*Il Filocolo*), 1, 64, 67–71, 82, 131
- Price, Jocelyn, 55–6, 74–5, 92n, 93, 145
- Primera crónica general*, see *under* Alfonso X
- Prise de Cordres et de Seville*, 48
- Prise de Noples*, 47
- Prophetic Chronicle of 883, 27n
- Ptolemy, 49n
- Quaglio, Antonio, 60n
- Queste del Saint Graal*, 146
- Quint, David, 164
- Racheio (*Il Filocolo*), 130
- Reinalds-rúmur*, 37, 38
- Reinhold, Joachim Henry, 17, 19, 41, 92n
- Reiss, Edmund, 67–9, 71, 93–95, 112
- Reiss, Timothy, 160
- Reusch, Heinrich, 3n
- Robert of Sicily*, 53
- Robert of Naples, 113, 115, 116
- Roderic (Rodrigo, last Visigothic king of Spain), 187
- Rodríguez Herrero, Angel, 30n, 43
- Roman de la Rose*, 71
- Rome, 35, 90, 112, 119–20, 121, 128–9, 131, 137, 144, 148n, 150–4, 172, 176, 188, 189, 190
- Rosana, St., 3
- Rowland, Beryl, *Birds with Human Souls*, 180
- Ruiz, Juan, *Libro de buen amor*, 4, 60n, 190
- Ruolandesliet*, 47; see also *Chanson de Roland*
- Sacra Rappresentazione*, 2
- Salvá, 21
- Sancho IV of Castile, 28–30, 32, 34, 35–6, 169
- Sands, Donald, 40
- Santillana, Marqués de: *Prohemios y cartas*, 60n
- Sara, 60, 153
- Satan (Pluto), 59
- Scandinavia, 17, 18, 36–9, 41, 50
- Scott, Anne, 177n
- Schach, Paul, 121, 123n
- Schlauch, Margaret, 37, 38n; *Chaucer's Constance*, 186
- Schelp, Hanspeter, 190
- Scipio Africanus, 58, 120
- Sedentiana, see *under* children and descendants of Floire and Blancheflor
- Sercambi, Giovanni, *Cronaca*, 92n
- seneschal, see *under* Massamutino
- Seven Virtues (*Il Filocolo*), 104–6, 117, 125, 148
- Sharrer, Harvey, 20n, 23n
- Siena, 117
- Sigiberto (Sujulbert), see *under* narrator; see also Gilbert de Gembloux
- Sigurdar saga pögla*, 36, 119, 182
- Sigthur (Norwegian epic hero), 182
- Silverman, Joseph, 196–7
- Sir Amadas*, 190–1
- Sir Cleges*, 53
- Sir Gowther*, 53
- Sir Ysumbras*, 53
- Sisife (*Il Filocolo*), 127, 145–6, 148–9, 150n, 171
- Smarr, Janet, 75n, 88n, 100, 104n, 111, 129n, 139–40, 147, 156–7, 176–7; *Boccaccio and Fiammetta*, 100, 111, 139–40, 147, 156–7
- Smith, Colin, 31, 32
- Smith, J. B., 80n
- Smith, W., 49n
- Sowdone of Babylone*, 191
- Spain, 3n, 4, 10, 18, 22, 23n, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 46–50, 72, 79, 85, 89, 90, 91, 101, 102, 103, 110, 119–20, 121, 122,

Index

- 129, 131, 132, 135–7, 142–3, 154, 162, 163, 164, 167, 173, 184, 186, 187–8, 188, 201; Al-Andalus, 24, 27–8, 47, 163, 170; Almería, 25, 26, 29–30, 46–8, 99, 155, 168, 188, 192, 193–4, 198; Andalusia, 31; Asturias, 27, 30, 188; Cáceres, 3, 198–201; Castile, 34–5, 39, 169; Córdoba, 26, 32, 35, 47–8, 99, 122, 155–6, 192; Galicia, 25, 46–7, 102–3; Granada, 187; “idea of,” 30–1, 119n; Naval de Huesca, 47n; Navas de Tolosa, Las, 187; Niebla de Huelva, 47n; Novelda de Alicante, 47n; Seville, 25n; Spanish America (New World), 164
- Spanish Asturian Chronicles, 142
- Spargo, John, 92n
- Spiegel, Gabrielle, 30, 31
- Statius, 100
- Steinmayer, Elias, 15n
- Stephanus, 49n
- Schwartz, Regina, *Remembering and Repeating*, 142n
- Sylvester, 15n
- Symonds, John Addington, 3n
- Taggart, James, 3n, 198, 201
- Tasso (*Gerusalemme liberata*), 164
- Taylor, Albert, 78
- teachers and masters: Ascalion, 60, 61, 67, 83, 99, 102, 105, 110, 116, 125, 144, 149, 154; Gandifer, 25–6, 66, 79; Gaydon, 25–26, 35, 66, 79, 99, 116, 154; Agostin, 26, 99; *see also* narrator, Ilario
- Ten Brink, Jan, 20
- Thompson, Süth, *Index of Folk Motifs*, 195
- Titan, 147
- Tressan, M. de, *Flores et Blanchefleur, Cléomades et Claremonde, Pierre de Provence et la Belle Maguelone*, 191–3
- Tristan, 4, 190–1
- Tristan, 193
- Tristan and Isolde*, 4, 36
- Tristán de Leonis*, 4n
- Troy, 63–4, 92n, 111–2; Helen of, 63, 111
- T'Serclaes, Duque de, 20; present, 20n
- Tuve, Rosamond, *Allegorical Imagery*, 9
- Usher, Jonathan, 103n
- Uitti, Karl, 30–1, 119n, 120n
- Vance, Eugene, 145; *Mervelous Signals*, 146, 151, 160, 172, 176
- Venus (*Il Filocolo*), 10, 60–2, 65, 72–73, 76, 83, 114, 126, 127, 130, 141, 179
- Vincent, Jacques, *Flores et Blanchefleur*, 21, 189, 192, 193n
- Vinsauf, Geoffrey de, 129n
- Virgil, 88n, 92n, 100, 125
- Waley, Pamela, 4n
- Wallace, David, 125
- Wamba (Visigothic king), 72
- Ward, Marvin, J., x, 17
- Wardropper, Bruce, 163
- Warner, Marina, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 98n, 162n
- Weinstein, Donald, 165, 167
- Wentersdorf, Karl, 68–9, 71, 93–5
- Wenzel, Siegfried, 104, 106–7
- Wilkins, Ernest, 191
- Wirtz, Wilhelmine, 18, 40, 44
- Wolf, Kenneth, 27, 55n, 72
- Ysca (Moorish King, *Primera crónica general*), 24, 116, 121, 184–5
- Yucaf Alchari (Spanish chronicle version), 174
- Ywain and Gawain*, 159
- Yzid (Moorish King, *Primera crónica general*), 24

2. General Index

- advice (counsel, *conseil*), 9, 48, 56, 57–63, 66–71, 77–85, 99, 117, 142, 162, 177, 199; *see also* advisors (counselors); mirror of princes
- advisors (counselors) and councils (tribunals), 2, 25–6, 35, 58–61, 66, 70, 77, 79–85, 90, 99, 112, 116, 154, 169–70; *see also* advice (counsel, *conseil*)
- algarabia*, 18, 45–6, 196
- allegory, 3n, 54, 68, 69n, 88, 117, 177, 190–1; political, 7; *Crónica de Flores y Blancaflor* as political, 34–6, 169; vows of the peacock as political, 59–60, 73, 84–5, 112–5, 144, 153, 173–4, 180; religious, 2n, 68–9, 71; of schoolroom as Tower of Babel, 131, 173; pilgrimage of human life as, *see under* pilgrimage; Ship of the Church as, *see under* iconography
- artifice, *see under* nature and artifice
- ballads and balladry, 99, 182, 193–8; euphemistic third person in, 197
- baptism, 26, 35, 99, 138, 148, 153–7, 174, 178
- basket of flowers, 2, 30n, 42–3, 56, 66–72, 82, 91–5, 136, 138, 143, 147, 150n
- bee, 72; bumblebee, 42–3, 71, 82
- bird: in basket of flowers, 42, 71n, 72; on *coupe troyenne*, 11; *see also* dreams and dream-visions; fowl, poisoned

Index

- book, 99, 178–80; Blancheflor's, 40–1; of Ovid, 70, 130–1, 176
- boat, 10, 26, 102, 103, 163–4
- breastfeeding, 30n, 31, 43–6, 96–8, 138, 143; *see also* breast milk; ingestion
- breast milk, 26, 30n, 45, 46n, 96–8, 138, 143, 162, 162n, 178; of the nursing Virgin, 97, 162n; as processed blood, 97; *see also* breastfeeding; ingestion
- brigata*, 125, 135, 147, 155, 157
- butterfly, 42–3, 71–2
- chanson de geste*, 3n, 48
- Charlemagne cycle, 11, 31, 122–3, 138, 154, 168, 170, 182–9; *see also* textual lineage
- chess, 1–2, 56, 64, 66–70, 91, 112
- Christianity, 12, 24, 26, 28, 35, 47, 53, 55, 64, 78–9, 85, 96, 98, 101–3, 121, 129n, 138, 140–1, 155, 161–2, 174, 176–7
- Christians and pagans: encounters between, 1, 2, 8, 23–4, 26, 46–7, 53, 55, 58, 64, 88–9, 98–9, 118, 132, 137–8, 161–71, 188–90, 193–8; mingling of elements of, 10, 95; *see also* pagan gods
- chronicle, 7, 10, 22, 27, 30, 31, 32, 55, 62, 88, 119, 123, 163, 167, 168, 185–9; *falsos cronicones*, 163–4
- city, 47–9, 55n, 63, 90, 106, 131, 151, 153, 162; of God and of man, 100, 129n, 151, 174; Caleon's, 106, 116, 128, 144–53, 177
- clandestine marriage: in *Filocolo* and Spanish Chronicle, 75, 79, 139, 144, 153
- colors: significance of, 93–5; of dead pilgrims' bones, 152, 154; of magic ring, 57–8, 63, 76
- combat of generosity, 75
- communitas* and true community, 12, 120n, 125, 146, 149–53, 172, 174, 179–80, 201; garden as, 147–9
- confession: of Biancifiore, 61; of seneschal, 62
- congedo*, 121, 124
- continuations and sequels, 11, 88, 182–9; *see also* textual lineage
- converts, 5–6, 26, 106, 166, 176; text as, 4–5; *see also* conversion
- conversion, 2–6, 10–11, 24, 24n, 26, 28, 34–5, 50, 53–5, 64–5, 68, 69n, 77–85, 87–8, 89–110, 117, 120–3, 129–33, 137–8, 139–50, 154–6, 161–71, 172–81, 186–9, 199; radical discontinuity of, 165–6, 176; textual conversion, 11–12, 54–5, 61–2, 64–5, 76–7, 80, 85, 174–81; *see also* converts
- conseil*, *see under* advice (counsel)
- courtship patterns, 3, 3n, 182, 198–201
- cunning, *see under* *engin*
- cup, 56, 63–4, 85, 100; or *coupe troyenne*, 86, 111–13; in exchange for Blancheflor, 63–4, 84–5, 145–6
- death: and rebirth, 69, 112, 134–6, 138, 145n, 146, 200; and Resurrection of Christ, 68, 107–10, 130, 179; Blancheflor condemned to, 57–9, 114, 136–7; false death of Blancheflor, 1, 62–3, 112; of Blancheflor's mother, 1, 30n, 60, 116, 136; of the pilgrims, 1, 89, 118, 129, 136, 161–2
- de-christianization, 196–7
- dreams and dream-visions, 10, 57, 66, 72, 88, 90, 104–6, 114–15, 117, 124–5, 128–31, 145, 147, 149, 150–1, 155, 173, 179, 180; *see also* reading
- economics, *see under* romance, economics of
- Emmaus story, 107–10; in *Il Filocolo*, 108–10, 157–8, 172–3; *see also* friendship; hospice and hospitality
- engin* (cunning, fraud, *gin*, guile, ingenuity, *red*, *rede*, wit), 9, 54–9, 62–4, 66–71, 76–9, 82–5, 88, 90, 91, 111–15, 132, 142, 159, 170–1, 176; *forza* and *froda*, 170–1; *see also* advice (counsel); nature and artifice
- epic, 7, 28, 33, 58, 88, 160, 161, 163–4; adaptation of epic material, 28, 38, 88, 132, 183; epic prayer, 58; epic quest, 65; Christian epic, 77
- fall (sin) and redemption, 10, 28, 30, 65, 100, 110, 120, 135–7, 139, 142–3, 150n, 156, 157, 161, 166, 168, 184, 186, 188; in Spain, 27, 30, 33; *see also* forgetting and remembering; geography; promise and fulfillment
- felix culpa*, 142, 162
- figura*, 184, 187–8
- flowers, 1, 2, 66–7, 71–2, 94, 135–6; and sexual passion, 71, 93, 136; *see also* lily; rose
- forgetting and remembering (covering and uncovering, hiding and revealing, veiling and unveiling), 26, 87–8, 142–3, 163, 168–9, 171, 172; as pattern of Biblical narrative, 142, 168; *see also* fall (sin) and redemption; geography; promise and fulfillment
- fornaldasögur* (sagas of antiquity), 36–7, 37n
- forza* and *froda*, *see under* *engin*
- fowl, poisoned, 7, 57–60, 73, 112, 114, 144; *see also* allegory, vows of the peacock as
- frames and frame-devices, 86, 89, 118–23, 133, 141, 156–8, 171–2, 175–81
- friendship and Christianity, 108–10, 150; *see also* Emmaus story; hospice and hospitality

Index

- garden, 1, 10, 56, 66–7, 88, 89–110, 112, 124, 125, 134–6, 141, 146–9, 156, 164, 179; as prelapsarian world, 68; of Deduit, 93; of Paradise (or Eden), 87, 136, 142n, 143, 184; or orchard of Emir, 86
- genealogy (and lineage), 10, 30, 31, 34, 53, 85, 118, 122–3, 134, 183–4, 186; and dynastic inheritance, 31, 33–6, 153, 169, 170; of Flores and Blancaflor, 24–5, 48, 50, 79, 89, 140, 161, 162, 163, 183–9
- generic dominant, 6; *see also* horizon of expectations; genre
- genre, 4, 4n, 6–8, 11–2, 33, 54, 76–7, 88, 106–7, 115n, 123, 139, 156, 159–60, 161, 163, 168–71, 172, 173, 181; *see also* chronicle; epic; generic dominant; hagiography; historiography; horizon of expectations; mirror of princes; myth
- geography, 10, 42, 43, 46–50, 134–6; and conversion of spaces, 134, 136; and genre, 159; and morality, 10, 85, 90, 95, 105, 131, 134; and spiritual redemption, 134; *see also* fall (sin) and redemption; forgetting and remembering; promise and fulfillment
- gift-giving, 152, 173–4
- gin, *see under* engin
- government, issues of good and bad, 82–3, 115–7, 122, 128, 148–56, 169–70, 174, 177
- Great Western Schism, 35
- hagiography, 2–7, 11, 64, 68, 80, 115n, 119, 139–40, 160, 161, 166–7, 172–3, 175, 183, 190–1, 193, 200–1; and gender, 165–70; *heilagra manna sögur* (saints' lives), 38, 80n, 94
- harem, 2, 84
- heilagra manna sögur* (saints' lives), *see under* hagiography
- historicity, 8, 17
- historiography, vernacular prose, 27, 30, 160; in Spain, 27–8, 30–3, 119–23, 163, 167–71
- history, 8, 22, 27, 30–4, 47, 53, 79, 91, 119–22, 142n, 164, 167, 168, 184–9; of Christianization of Spain, 10, 23–36, 53, 79, 85, 98, 116, 122, 132, 163–4, 166, 167–71, 184, 187–9; of *Idalogos*, 126–7, 130–1
- Holy Saturday, 156–8
- hospice and hospitality, 108–10; *see also* Emmaus story; friendship and Christianity
- horizon of expectations, 6–7, 11, 159, 176; *see also* generic dominant; genre
- iconography, 9–10, 86–8, 89, 96, 104, 111–12, 132; of Emaré's robe, 111, 190–1; of Giotto's *Navicella*, 103, 117; of rudderless ship, 10, 100–3; of Ship of the Church, 10, 100–4, 145, 179
- imaginative unity, 87, 87n, and imaginative center, 87n, 88, 89; and imaginative center of *Il Filocolo*, 105, 141, 146
- implied text, 9–10, 66, 89; *Confessions* as, 96–100
- ingestion, 143, 164–5; of the Word, 143, 165, 168; *see also* breastfeeding; breast milk
- inn, 65, 127, 145–6, 148, 150n, 171
- inscribed text, 9, 86–8, 112, 120
- island, of St. Bernard, 26, 79, 96–7, 101–2, 143, 153–5; in Spanish prose romance, 137, 164; in *Il Filocolo*, 146, 164
- Islendingasögur*, 123, 123n
- Knights' Festival of Flowers, 96, 147
- language, moral dimension of, 124–31, 173, 178; and order, 146–54
- Lenten season, 10, 134
- likeness, 65–6, 70, 145, 145n, 150n; and *imitatio Christi*, 110, 145n
- lily, 93–5
- lygisögur* (lying sagas, fictional sagas), 36
- magic, 40, 54–7, 68, 74–6, 77n
- medieval discursive hybridism, 160, 172
- miracles, 26, 83, 97–8, 99, 102, 137, 142, 152, 154
- mirror of princes, 38, 82, 115–7, 169–70
- monasteries, 28, 31; of Flóres and Blankiflúr, 36, 161, 163, 182
- monastic writings, 2n, 28, 31–3; of San Pedro de Cardeña, 32
- Moorish kings of Spain, 22–7, 31–3, 46–7, 50, 66, 79, 116, 121–3, 124, 140, 168, 174, 185
- myth, 111, 119, 135, 150n, 168–70
- narrating and storytelling, 9–12, 66, 75, 77–8, 80–2, 85–8, 90, 97–100, 118–23, 123–33, 140–1, 145, 146, 148, 155–8, 165, 166, 177–81, 198–201; by objects as narratives, 111–17
- nationalism, 30–1, 33, 57, 65, 86, 115, 119–20, 123
- nature, 66, 150; and artifice, 91–5; *see also* garden; flowers; tree
- New Historicism, 167
- Officium Peregrinorum*, 109; *see also* pilgrimage of human life
- ordo gothorum*, 27–8
- pagan gods, 59–62, 64–7, 72–6, 83–5, 114, 117, 126, 140–1, 144, 150n, 166–7, 174–81
- Palm Sunday, 1, 96, 119, 146–7

Index

- peacock and Dante, 180; *see also* fowl,
poisoned; allegory, vows of the peacock
as
- Pentecost, 1, 96, 121, 130, 146–8, 156, 157;
and *Il Filocolo*, 109–10, 146–8, 156–8; and
language, 110, 145, 146–7, 178; in *Yvain*,
146–7; sermon for, 108–10
- persecuted heroine, theme of, 53, 58, 190–1;
and calumniated queen, 186–9; and
female saints, 165–7
- pilgrimage (*peregrinatio*), 1–11, 25, 25n, 30n,
59, 64–5, 68, 71, 78, 87–8, 119–22, 129,
134, 138, 139–58, 172–81, 187–9, 196,
201; of human life (*huius vitae*), 103–4,
106–10, 145–6; of love, 5, 55, 65, 83, 88,
90, 102, 139, 171–2, 173, 179–80; of the
text, 4–5, 7
- positivist critics, 15, 16, 17, 18–20, 29, 87
- prayerbook or psalter, *see under* book
- presence (*praesentia*), 110, 152, 158
- promise and fulfillment, 35, 97–8, 138, 142–3,
153–4, 158, 171–81, 185–9; *see also* fall
(sin) and redemption; forgetting and
remembering; geography
- questions of love (*questioni d'amore*), 66, 88,
102, 105–6, 125–6, 135, 141, 146–9, 175,
179
- reading, 2, 3, 6–9, 40, 66, 86–7, 95n, 118,
123–31; *see also* dreams and dream-
visions
- red, rede, *see under* engin
- relics, 103, 150n, 152, 158, 172
- riddarasögur (chivalric sagas), 36, 37n, 38, 82,
123, 123n, 182; *see also* mirror of princes
- rímur (Icelandic dance ballads), 37; *Reinalds-
rímur*, 37–8
- ring, 56–8, 62–3, 74–9, 83, 85, 139
- robe, *see under* iconography
- romance, 2–7, 21, 36, 38, 54, 55, 62, 77, 80, 88,
100, 115, 118, 132, 136, 138, 145, 146,
161, 163–4, 167–71, 177, 179, 183, 187,
190–1; Arthurian, 68; economics of,
145–6; homiletic or pious, 53, 167, 191;
of chivalry, 75; romance quest, 65
- rose, 92n, 93–5
- sagas, medieval Icelandic, 62, 118–19
- sea voyage (or journey), 9–10, 66, 91, 100,
102, 105, 111, 144–5, 154
- seven, as significant number, 104–5, 146–9; *see
also* Pentecost, in *Il Filocolo*
- Seven Deadly Sins, 117, 148
- Seven Virtues, 104–6, 117, 125, 148
- ship, 100–4, 117, 143, 145, 149, 163–4, 179
- Ship of the Church, *see under* iconography
- shipwreck, 9, 26, 91, 97, 100–2, 137, 153,
163–4
- simultaneity, 62, 138
- social logic of the text, 31, 34, 169
- Spain and Norway, consent in marriage in,
37–38; literary exchange between, 17,
37–40, 50, 80–2
- storytelling, *see under* narrating and
storytelling
- temple, of Venus, 62; *see also* pagan gods
- textual lineage, 10, 22–3, 28–34, 35, 50, 122–3,
154–6, 182–9, 192–3, 200–1
- third strain of *Floire and Blancheflor* (*Crónica
de Flores y Blancaflor*), 4–5, 5n, 16, 19,
22–3, 29–30, 39–40, 41–2, 49–50, 68, 80,
94, 135
- tomb, 1, 56, 62–3, 86, 100, 152–3; and burial
customs, 152–4; of Christ, 107, 156–8; of
Giulia, 116, 158, 172; of St. James
(Santiago de Compostela), 25, 26, 59,
158, 161, 187–8, 196, 201; recovery, 152,
154, 158, 172
- tower (Emir's palace), 1, 25, 30n, 40, 42–3, 55,
56, 64, 66–71, 74, 77, 82–4, 86, 91–5, 100,
111, 112, 135–8, 139, 142–5, 163
- tree, 1, 180; *Idalogos* as, 126–7, 156; Tree of
Love, 66–7, 92; *see also* garden; flowers
- trial: of the lovers, 2, 39, 55, 56, 59, 72–85; of the
lovers in the Old Norse version, 36, 38, 43,
48, 50, 80–2; in the Middle Dutch version,
39, 80; in the Spanish Chronicle, 25, 43, 50,
73–84; in *Il Filocolo*, 77, 83–5; of
Biancifiore in *Il Filocolo*, 58–62, 112–15
- typology, *see under* figura
- writing, 1, 10, 12, 86–8, 120–3, 123–4, 131–3,
155–6, 166, 178–81

CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

General Editor: Professor Alastair Minnis, Professor of Medieval Literature,
University of York

Editorial Board

Professor Patrick Boyde, FBA (Serena Professor of Italian, Cambridge)
Professor John Burrow, FBA (Winterstoke Professor of English, Bristol)
Professor Rita Copeland (Professor of English, University of Minnesota)
Professor Alan Deyermond, FBA (Professor of Hispanic Studies, London)
Professor Peter Dronke, FBA (Professor of Medieval Latin Literature, Cambridge)
Dr Simon Gaunt (University of Cambridge)
Professor Nigel Palmer (Professor of German Medieval and Linguistic Studies,
Oxford)
Professor Winthrop Wetherbee (Professor of English, Cornell)

Titles published

- 1 *Dante's "Inferno": Difficulty and dead poetry*, by Robin Kirkpatrick
- 2 *Dante and Difference: Writing in the "Commedia,"* by Jeremy Tambling
- 3 *Troubadours and Irony*, by Simon Gaunt
- 4 *"Piers Plowman" and the New Anticlericalism*, by Wendy Scase
- 5 *The "Cantar de mio Cid": Poetic creation in its economic and social contexts*, by Joseph Duggan
- 6 *The Medieval Greek Romance*, by Roderick Beaton
- 7 *Reformist Apocalypticism and "Piers Plowman,"* by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton
- 8 *Dante and the Medieval Other World*, by Alison Morgan
- 9 *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New research in early drama*, edited by Eckehard Simon
- 10 *The Book of Memory: A study of memory in medieval culture*, by Mary J. Carruthers
- 11 *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic traditions and vernacular texts*, by Rita Copeland
- 12 *The Arthurian Romances of Chrétien de Troyes: Once and future fictions*, by Donald Maddox
- 13 *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*, by Nicholas Watson
- 14 *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, by Steven F. Kruger
- 15 *Chaucer and the Tradition of the "Roman Antique,"* by Barbara Nolan
- 16 *The "Romance of the Rose" and its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, reception, manuscript transmission*, by Sylvia Huot
- 17 *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150–1500*, edited by Carol M. Meale
- 18 *Ideas and Forms of Tragedy from Aristotle to the Middle Ages*, by Henry Ansgar Kelley
- 19 *The Making of Textual Culture: Grammatica and literary theory, 359–1100*, by Martin Irvine
- 20 *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The medieval exemplum and the Chaucerian tradition*, by Larry Scanlon
- 21 *Medieval Dutch Literature in its European Context*, edited by Erik Kooper

- 22 *Dante and the Mystical Tradition: Bernard of Clairvaux in the "Commedia,"* by Steven Botterill
- 23 *Heresy and Literacy, 1000–1530*, edited by Peter Biller and Anne Hudson
- 24 *Virgil in Medieval England: Figuring the "Aeneid" from the Twelfth Century to Chaucer*, by Christopher Baswell
- 25 *Sciences and the Self in Medieval Poetry: Alan of Lille's "Anticlaudianus" and John Gower's "Confessio Amantis,"* by James Simpson
- 26 *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, by Joyce Coleman
- 27 *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical text*, by Suzanne Reynolds
- 28 *Editing "Piers Plowman": The Evolution of the Text*, by Charlotte Brewer
- 29 *Vernacular Literary Theory in the Middle Ages: The German Tradition, 800–1300, in its European Context*, by Walter Haug
- 30 *Texts and the Self in the Twelfth Century*, by Sarah Spence
- 31 *Lies, Slander and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature: Pastoral Rhetoric and the Deviant Speaker*, by Edwin Craun
- 32 *"Floire and Blancheflor" and the European Romance*, by Patricia E. Grieve